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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Khasbulatov Receives Muslim Conference Participants *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 10 Sep]* 1
Meri Addresses Meeting on 'Via Baltica' Project *[BNS]* 1

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Russia's Kazimirov Views Progress of Karabakh Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 2
Baltic Prime Ministers Sign Economic Cooperation Accord *[Moscow TV]* 2
Baltic Claims for Environmental Damage Questioned *[STRAZH BALTIKI 7 Sep]* 2
CIS Governments Urged To Support Agriculture *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 10 Sep]* 3
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 15 Sep 3

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Police Chief Warns of Threats to U.S. Citizens *[MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 12 Sep]* 5
Official Denies Resignation of Envoy to U.S. *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
Georgia, Abkhazia Pledge Adherence to 'Peaceful Settlement' *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
Abkhaz Leader Claims Georgia Failing To Observe Sochi Accord *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
Accords Signed With Georgia; Shokhin Comments *[ITAR-TASS]* 6
Georgian Response to Eviction of Russian Soldiers Hit *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 10 Sep]* 6
Yeltsin, Armenian President Meet in Kremlin *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
Adamishin, Azerbaijan's Dzhalilov Discuss Karabakh *[Baku Radio]* 7
Russian Plane Hijacked From Baku to Ukraine *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
Yeltsin, Iranian President Discuss Ties, Karabakh *[Moscow Radio]* 7
Air Force Denies Bombing Afghanistan *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
Kozyrev's Afghan Diplomacy Assessed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Sep]* 7
Russia, Tajikistan Agree To Merge Monetary Systems *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
Moscow To Strengthen Economic Ties With Kazakhstan *[SEGODNYA 14 Sep]* 9
Half Oppose Russian Troops in Conflict Areas *[SEGODNYA 14 Sep]* 10
Navy Says Ukraine Stops Funding Black Sea Fleet *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Gromov Comments on Withdrawal, Role of Baltic Fleet *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Latvia's Claims of Mercenary Recruitment Denied *[STRAZH BALTIKI 1 Sep]* 11
Further Reaction to Israeli-Palestinian Peace Agreement 12
Foreign Ministry Spokesman Comments *[ITAR-TASS]* 12
Agreement Seen as 'Step Toward Peace' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 14 Sep]* 12
'Perplexing Problems' Remain *[IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]* 12
'Interim' Agreement Assessed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Sep]* 13
Authorities Enhance Protection at UAE Embassy *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
Khasbulatov Meets Turkish Prime Minister *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Sep]* 13
Foreign Ministry Official Views Expansion of NATO *[SEGODNYA 14 Sep]* 14
Koyzrev Arrives in Zagreb *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
Housing Problems for Troops Leaving Germany Noted *[Moscow TV]* 15
Former Minister Fedotov To Be UNESCO Representative *[KURANTY 11 Sep]* 16
Italian Satellite Launched From Plesetsk *[Moscow Radio]* 16
Oil Exports 'Significantly Higher' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Sep]* 16
Minister Comments on Foreign Trade Policy *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 10 Sep]* 16
South Korean Military Delegation Visits Khabarovsk *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Sep]* 19
Lobov Assesses Trade With Taiwan *[Moscow International]* 19

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Media Issues

Presidential Council Discusses Elections, Federation Council 21
Yeltsin Says 'Diarchy' Must End *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
Members Comment on Meeting *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
Yeltsin May Seek Support for Early Elections *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
Federation Council Discussed *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
Council Criticizes Yeltsin, Government *[Russian TV]* 22
Yeltsin Addresses Session *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 15 Sep]* 22
Fall Elections Unlikely *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 15 Sep]* 22
Yeltsin, Shaposhnikov Attend Security Council Session *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
Ossetian-Ingush Conflict Debated *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
Ryabov Optimistic on Constitution Working Group *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
Composition of Working Group Criticized *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Sep]* 24
Groups Propose 'Conciliation Forum' on Constitution *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Sep]* 25
Government Creates Press Freedom 'Watchdog' *[ITAR-TASS]* 25
Shumeyko Interviewed on Corruption Charges *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 11 Sep]* 25
Poll Shows Majority Favors Khasbulatov Resignation *[ITAR-TASS]* 29
Communist Leader Decries 'Disintegration' of Society *[PRAVDA 10 Sep]* 29
Solzhenitsyn To Return Next Spring *[Moscow Radio]* 32

Military & Space Issues

Yeltsin To Watch Spetnaz Force Exercise *[ITAR-TASS]* 32
Conscription Problems Discussed *[Moscow TV]* 33
Military Recruitment Problems Listed *[ITAR-TASS]* 33
Moral, Psychological Condition of Fleet Viewed *[STRAZH BALTIKI 7 Sep]* 33
Production at 'Top-Secret' Missile Plant Detailed *[Moscow TV]* 34
'Albatross' Amphibious Aircraft Described *[Radio Rossii]* 35

Economic Issues

Finance Ministry Proposes Measures To Reduce Deficit *[ITAR-TASS]* 35
Ministry, Parliament Debate Budget Deficit *[SEGODNYA 14 Sep]* 36
Chernomyrdin Allocates Funds for Disaster Areas *[Radio Rossii]* 36
August Inflation Hits 29 Percent *[SEGODNYA 14 Sep]* 36
Legal Curbs on Wage Differences Urged *[IZVESTIYA 11 Sep]* 36
Agriculture Expert Comments on Grain Harvest, Prices *[KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 2 Sep]* 36
Farmers 'Not in a Hurry' To Sell Grain *[ITAR-TASS]* 38

Regional Affairs

Shakhray Advocates 'Minor Constitution' *[ITAR-TASS]* 38
North Ossetian Demands for Normalizing Situation *[ITAR-TASS]* 39
Tatarstan Not Planning To Join Federation Council *[Russian TV]* 39
Kaliningrad Chairman on Current Situation *[KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 4 Sep]* 39
Moscow, Kuban Criticize New Residence Law *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Sep]* 41
Buryatia Leader on Bypassing of Constitutional Body *[ITAR-TASS]* 42
Government's Regional Policy Criticized *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 11 Sep]* 42
Bad Crime Situation Linked to 'Red Terror' Era *[IZVESTIYA 11 Sep]* 43
Vologda Entrepreneurs, Authorities Clash *[IZVESTIYA 10 Sep]* 44

UKRAINE

International Affairs

'Overcrowded' Nuclear Warheads Overheat in Ukraine *[IZVESTIYA 15 Sep]* 46
Defense Official Blames Russia *[Kiev TV]* 46

Crimean Protocols Spark Reactions in Ukraine 47
Photocopies Published *[NEZAVISIMOST 10 Sep]* 47
Fleet Officers Support Yeltsin *[ITAR-TASS]* 47
SOU Denounces Protocols *[UNIAR]* 48
Negative Reactions Published *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 8 Sep]* 48
Republicans Assail Negotiations *[UNIAR]* 49
Russia's Rumyantsev Ends Visit to Crimea *[UNIAR]* 49
Paper Cites Kuchma Interview on Russia, Belarus *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 14 Sep]* 49
Proposal To Swap Unfinished Cruiser for Fuel Debt *[ITAR-TASS]* 51
Party Favors Unity With Russia *[KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 2 Sep]* 51
Morozov on U.S. Visit, TU-95's *[UKRAYINSKA HAZETA 2-15 Sep]* 53

National Affairs

Government 'Looks Forward To Restoring State Planning' *[Kiev Radio]* 56
Cabinet Approves Statute on Land Monitoring *[URYADOVYY KURYER 9 Sep]* 56
Energy Outlook Detailed; 3d Chernobyl Block To Open *[POST-POSTUP 13 Sep]* 57
Candidates To Replace Kuchma Considered *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 14 Sep]* 57
Press Service on Rukh Leader's Comments on Kravchuk *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 14 Sep]* 58
UNA-UNSO Sees Itself as Leading Opposition Force *[UKRAYINSKI OBRIYI Sep]* 58
Pro-Soviet Rally Held in Simferopol 12 Sep *[Kiev Radio]* 59
Statistics Ministry Reports Figures on Harvesting *[Kiev Radio]* 59
Miners Demand Reinstatement of Referendum *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 14 Sep]* 59
Editor Lists Factors Believed To Oppose Monetary Reform *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 9 Sep]* 59
Military Pilots Ask Morozov To Save Aviation Corps *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 9 Sep]* 60

WESTERN REGION

Moldova

Russian Commander Wins Election With 87.5% of Vote *[BASAPRESS]* 61
Foreign Ministry Protests Election *[ITAR-TASS]* 61
Parliament 'Bogged Down' in Debate Over Dissolution *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 15 Sep]* 61
CI Official on Agenda *[BASAPRESS]* 62
FPCD Leader on Economic Issues *[BASAPRESS]* 62
Gagauz Region Pledges 'Total Attachment' to CIS *[BASAPRESS]* 62

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Receives Strobe Talbott, Others *[KAZTAG]* 64
Skilled Nuclear Experts Leaving Republic *[PRAVDA 11 Sep]* 64

Tajikistan

Strobe Talbott Holds News Conference in Dushanbe *[Moscow Radio]* 65
Meets Leaders, Comments on Aid *[Dushanbe Radio]* 65
Administration Leader Comments on Gorno-Badakhshan *[ITAR-TASS]* 66

Uzbekistan

Karimov Discusses Economy With Czech Visitors *[Prague TELEGRAF 13 Sep]* 66
President Issues Decree on Minimum Wage *[UZBEKISTAN APN]* 67

CAUCASUS

Armenia

President To Visit Moscow, Meet Yeltsin 15 Sep *[ARMENPRES]* 68
Further on Moscow Trip *[ITAR-TASS]* 68

Azerbaijani Troop Movements in Nakhichevan Reported *[ARMENPRES]* 68
President, Karabakh Leader Discuss Minsk, Other Talks *[ARMENPRES]* 68

Azerbaijan

National Assembly Discusses CIS Membership 68
Aliyev Addresses Assembly Session *[Baku Radio]* 68
Further on Assembly Session *[Baku TV]* 69
Assembly Commissions Approve Joining CIS *[ITAR-TASS]* 70
'Heated Debates' Reported *[ITAR-TASS]* 70
Debates Postponed to 16 Sep *[ITAR-TASS]* 70
APF Stages Anti-CIS Membership Rally 14 Sep *[ASSA-IRADA]* 70
Complains About Police Action *[TURAN]* 70
Aliyev Invites APF To Submit Presidential Candidate *[ASSA-IRADA]* 71
Calls On APF To Use 'Democratic Methods' *[ASSA-IRADA]* 71
Cease-Fire With NKR Said Holding in Most Areas *[Moscow Radio]* 71
Armenians Shell Northwest Villages; 2 Killed *[ITAR-TASS]* 71
Correspondent Arrested on Terrorism Charge *[TURAN]* 71

Georgia

Shevardnadze Gives Resignation Speech to Assembly *[Tbilisi Radio]* 71
Supreme Council Refuses Resignation *[ITAR-TASS]* 74
Former Prime Minister Comments *[SNARK]* 74
Abkhaz Government Opposes Resignation *[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY]* 74
Deputy Says Resignation 'Will Ruin Georgia' *[SNARK]* 74
Church Leader Urges Shevardnadze To Stay *[ITAR-TASS]* 75
Shevardnadze Responds to Georgia 'Anarchy' *[IZVESTIYA 15 Sep]* 75
Ioseliani Addresses Supreme Council 14 Sep *[Tbilisi Radio]* 76
Says 'I Support' Shevardnadze *[Tbilisi Radio]* 77
Ninidze Addresses Supreme Council *[Tbilisi Radio]* 78
Parliament Convening To Consider Shevardnadze's Terms *[ITAR-TASS]* 79
Postpones Session to 15 Sep *[ITAR-TASS]* 79
Approves State of Emergency, Recess *[Tbilisi Radio]* 79
State of Emergency To Begin 20 Sep *[ITAR-TASS]* 79
Resolution on Work During State of Emergency *[Tbilisi Radio]* 79
Shevardnadze Addresses Session *[Tbilisi Radio]* 79
Shevardnadze Supporters Rally Outside Parliament Building *[ITAR-TASS]* 82
Session Continues *[Moscow Radio]* 82
'Weapons' Seen Outside Parliament *[ITAR-TASS]* 83
Shevardnadze Addresses Rally *[Tbilisi Radio]* 83
Envoy Predicts Political Situation Will Normalize *[ITAR-TASS]* 84
Shevardnadze Recalls Defense Minister From Moscow *[Radio Rossii]* 85
Defense Ministry Loyal to 'People's Choice' *[Tbilisi Radio]* 85
Opposition Forces Attack Government Troops 14 Sep *[ITAR-TASS]* 85
Gamsakhurdia's Supporters Isolate Town of Poti *[ITAR-TASS]* 86
Shevardnadze's Press Service on Rebels Plans *[Tbilisi Radio]* 86

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Negotiations With Russia Over Troops Continue *[BNS]* 87
Defense Forces Reportedly Hampered by Shortages
[Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 3 Sep] 87

Latvia

Council of Europe To Examine Draft Citizenship Law *[BNS]* 87
Views Exchanged With Saeima *[Riga Radio]* 88

Ulmanis, CSCE Official Discuss Rights Issues *[Riga Radio]* 88
Official Meets With Birkavs *[BNS]* 88
Opposition Faction on Possible 'Political Crisis' *[LETA]* 88
Defense Leadership To Observe NATO Maneuvers *[BNS]* 89
Latvian Ruble To Be Withdrawn 18 Oct *[Riga Radio]* 89

Lithuania

Slezevicius Reports to Seimas on Economy *[Vilnius Radio]* 89
Talks With Russia To Be Held 15 Sep in Vilnius *[Vilnius International]* 90
National Stock Exchange Opens in Vilnius *[Vilnius International]* 90
Brazauskas Names New Head of Bank of Lithuania *[Vilnius International]* 91
Visas To Be Required for Visitors From CIS *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Sep]* 91
Austrian Ambassador Presents Credentials *[ELTA NEWS BULLETIN]* 91

Khasbulatov Receives Muslim Conference Participants

PM1009151993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Parliamentary Press Service report: "Meeting in House of Soviets"]

[Text] On 8 September R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, met in the House of Soviets with the leaders of the organizing committee of the fifth international conference "Scientific Signs in the Koran and the Sunna."

Prominent scientists, public and religious figures, muftis, and leaders of Muslim communities throughout Russia as well as North America, West Europe, the Near East, and the CIS countries participated in the conference, which was organized by the Islamic Cultural Center of Russia.

During the meeting there was an exchange of opinions on the present state and role of religion in modern society and on changes in this sphere of human life.

"We welcome contacts between our religious figures and spiritual pastors and their colleagues abroad," Ruslan Khasbulatov said. He pointed out that the church, to which the state showed hostility in recent decades, needs assistance, and this assistance will be given as far as possible.

Meri Addresses Meeting on 'Via Baltica' Project

WS1309134193 Tallinn BNS in English 1707 GMT 11 Sep 93

[Text] Tallinn, Sept 11, BNS - Several hundred officials and business leaders convened in Tallinn Saturday [11 September] for an international conference on carrying out the "Via Baltica" route project.

The conference under the Pro Baltica Forum during two days will discuss ways to overcome the difficulties that are threatening to question the viability of the whole scheme.

Estonian President Lennart Meri in the opening speech said the "Via Baltica" has become a caricature, as cars and trucks have to wait for three days to cross the Lithuanian-Polish border. Speaking about Baltic cooperation, he said the picture was at the same time both "amusing and tragicomic".

The Estonian President said the Baltic economies are lacking an active scheme of division of labor and are actually competing with each other.

He also called on officials of the three countries not to forget other common projects. Meri reminded of detailed projects for building a gas pipeline in the North-South direction via the Baltics to conduct North Sea gas to Central Europe, as well as of projects concerning the integration of energy systems and using of sea ports.

The Estonian president once again stressed that integration between the three countries at all levels must precede their integration with Europe.

The "Via Baltica" project foresees building a 1,000-kilometer highway, that would correspond to international standards, for transits via Tallinn, Riga and Lithuanian towns to Poland. The road would be the shortest connection between Finland, the Baltics and Central Europe, offering new possibilities both for goods transports and travel. According to estimates by the Nordic banks and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the number of vehicles using the route will rise between 2 and 3 times by the end of the century from the present 2,000-10,000 per day. Between 1.9 and 3.3 million people per year are expected to use the international route by the year 2000. The volume of goods transports is estimated to reach 1.3-1.7 million tons.

The project now needs urgently a financial injection of about 40 million dollars, as well as long-term investments of up to 230 million dollars in the next five years.

Participants in the conference include the transport ministers of Finland, Estonia and Latvia, representatives of tens of banks, including Bank of Estonia President Siim Kallas, as well as business leaders from the Baltics, Poland and Germany.

Working groups in separate meetings are scheduled to discuss the project from the aspects of transport, tourism, services and construction.

The conference is sponsored by the Pro Baltica Forum, a body combining about 50 companies, banks and organizations from the Nordic countries, Germany and the Baltics.

Russia's Kazimirov Views Progress of Karabakh Talks

LD1409143093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1220 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Sep—"The Russian Federation Foreign Ministry welcomes the results of the first direct talks between the representatives of the leadership of the Azerbaijani Republic and Nagorno-Karabakh," said Vladimir Kazimirov, ambassador at large at the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry and the Russian president's special envoy to the Nagorno-Karabakh talks, addressing a briefing held here today.

He appraised as positive the accords that have been reached concerning the extension of the cease-fire in the zone of the armed conflict and on maintaining contacts between the sides at various levels. "It is extremely important, noted the Russian diplomat, that the talks in Moscow passed off in a businesslike and constructive spirit, geared to surmounting the existing lack of trust."

Russia, pointed out Vladimir Kazimirov, expects "above all that an agreement on a complete and final cease-fire and cessation of military activities will be elaborated; that forces will be withdrawn from the territories that have been taken; that communications will be restored; and that preparations will be made to have refugees returned as soon as possible to their earlier places of residence."

The Foreign Ministry's representative said that there was every reason to expect the practical implementation of the withdrawal of the Karabakh forces from the town of Kubatly and the villages around this rayon center, which Stepanakert announced many days ago, and to expect that they will be pulled back from the border with the neighboring state to prevent any sort of internationalization of the conflict.

"For its part, the Russian Foreign Ministry confirms its readiness to continue its mediating efforts to settle the Karabakh conflict, coordinating them with the efforts of the United Nations, CSCE, and other international organizations and states," said Vladimir Kazimirov in conclusion.

Baltic Prime Ministers Sign Economic Cooperation Accord

LD1409151893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Sep 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] According to a report from Tallinn, the prime ministers of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have signed an agreement on economic cooperation there. This is a noteworthy event, being the first of its kind. Up until now the Baltic countries have signed only bilateral documents at the official level.

[Correspondent Heymar Lenk] The major documents signed by the prime ministers of the three Baltic countries are a treaty on free trade and a joint declaration on regional security. [passage omitted]

The documents state, incidentally, that the Baltic republics have no intention of isolating themselves from their eastern neighbors, including Russia.

Baltic Claims for Environmental Damage Questioned

WS1409125393 Kaliningrad STRAZH BALTIKI in Russian 7 Sep 93 p 1

[Article by V. Bugayev: "How Much Does Russia Owe and to Whom?"]

[Text] Russia has fallen on hard times in its relations with the Baltic republics. The Lithuanian Government's unexpected demand to incorporate a $140-billion compensation provision into the agreement on troop withdrawal for alleged environmental damage inflicted by the Soviet Union has complicated bilateral relations, already rocky to begin with. Although the issue appears set aside for the time being, Latvia may follow Lithuania's example. I think that the issue of compensation for environmental damage, which was in the background at previous rounds of Russian-Lithuanian negotiations, will become the primary point of discussion.

The first reason for this is that the Baltic republics conduct a concerted policy on troop withdrawal and coordinate all their moves. This is clearly evidenced by the recent Latvian-Estonian and Latvian-Lithuanian consultations. The second reason is that the financial claims are so big that they can easily close the state budget gaps; in Latvia, for example, it runs at 55 million lats [L]. Why not try to fleece Russia out of several billion dollars and solve all the internal problems? And it is no problem if this means renouncing previously concluded agreements. Latvia is gradually beginning to voice its claims. The first sign of this was the electricity bill for 2.5 million rubles that was sent to the Radio and Communications School in Liepaya. However, the problem of compensation for environmental damage caused by the Soviet Army is seen in a broader context. Let us turn to the information disseminated through the media by L. Zelelnskiy, chairman of the Regional Committee for Environmental Protection, and inspector M. Kaminskaya.

They calculated everything—the location of ecologically dangerous facilities, forests, and airable land; polluted water; areas subject to recultivation; functioning of sewage treatment plants, if there were any. For example, they demand as much as L600,000 for the Skrunda radio station alone, which is $954,000 at the Latvian Bank's current exchange rate.

Latvian ecologists harbor particular grudges toward the Baltic Fleet. Even though the damages are still being estimated, as much as $50,000-70,000 is mentioned in connection with the base at Liepaya. This figure is not

official, but ranking individuals are already said to have made certain "promises" to the Latvians. The representative of the Regional Committee for Environmental Protection lays down specific claims to the fleet's command, which in his words, offered compensation for pouring sewage into the Saka River. Let us put aside the moral aspect of such statements and look at them from a legal point of view. The commander of the Northwest Group of Troops was entitled by the Russian Federation to supervise the withdrawal from the Baltic republics, and he is the only person that can make this kind of decision. Besides, how can you pay money for "lost causes" when no agreement between Latvia and Russian on troop withdrawal has been signed?

The position of the three Baltic republics is inexorable—for stationing troops on their territory from 1940 until now, Russia has to pay billions of dollars. They overlook the fact that until 1991, we had a common Army that defended the territorial integrity of all 15 republics, including Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Thanks to that Army, there was no bloodshed on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

One should not forget that the Army was supplied and financed on a joint basis. Not only Russians but also Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians wore military uniforms. Many of them resigned and now serve in armies of the Baltic states. However, one should remember that they were trained in schools and academies financed from the "common pot." Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia could as well direct claims to Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Belarus, and other countries of the former Soviet Union. So far, only Russia, as successor to the USSR, is the target of such claims.

CIS Governments Urged To Support Agriculture

PM1009151593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Sep 93 First Edition p 4

["Extracts" from "open letter" to Russian President B. Yeltsin, Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin, and the CIS heads of state and government from A. Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, and Russian Agrarian Union Chairman V. Starodubtsev: "Price Parity Is Only Chance"]

[Text] A. Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, and V. Starodubtsev, chairman of the Russian Agrarian Union, have sent an open letter to Russian President B.N. Yeltsin; V.S. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government; and the CIS heads of state and government. It says in particular:

We feel compelled to send you this message because of our sincere alarm over what is in effect the catastrophic situation that has developed in agriculture and other branches of the agroindustrial complex in Russia and the other CIS states.

During the implementation of reform the countryside has found itself in a very difficult situation. Agricultural production is falling steadily and, in terms of machinery and money, the countryside is facing wholesale ruin.

We ask the Russian Federation president and prime minister, as well as the heads of state and government of the other CIS countries:

—to reorganize the state's structural, investment, and tax policy in favor of the countryside, giving it real, mandatory priority, following the experience of the civilized countries of the world (Finland, Switzerland, Germany, and others);

—that governments ensure price parity for industrial and agricultural output, formulate an effective mechanism for their implementation, and create joint-stock companies on a voluntary basis to deliver this output to consumers;

—to consider the possibility of reducing taxes on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and peasant individual farms, apart from the land tax;

—not to impose on the countryside various forms of economic activity by strong-arm methods;

—to ensure rigorous observance of the prescribed 10-year moratorium on free resale of plots of land;

—that the Russian Federation Ministry of the Economy submit for consideration by the CIS heads of government proposals regarding the formation of transnational corporations to produce the most important categories of machinery and equipment for agriculture and also the creation of an Intergovernmental Committee for the Organization of Production and Reciprocal Deliveries of Agricultural Equipment to CIS Member States.

We urge the CIS heads of state and government to do everything necessary to resolve our top-priority task—the creation of highly productive agrarian sectors in our countries capable of supplying the population with food and industry with raw materials.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 15 Sep

LD1509061893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0504 GMT 15 Sep 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA: At Tuesday's [14 September] meeting of the Presidential Council, its members made a good deal of unflattering remarks about the presidential team, pointing out that it is time things were put in order in it so that all presidential advisers would at least speak on what is in accord with the tactics and strategy of President Yeltsin himself, not what they think fit.

The Presidential Council agreed that early elections to the parliament, even technically, cannot be held this autumn. Thus, as experts had supposed, elections to the parliament and, to all appearance, a presidential election will be held next spring.

The question remains open as to whether the incumbent parliament will want to pass any electoral law soon and agree to a compromise with the president—even if the compromise will be in simultaneous early elections of the parliament and president.

In another article, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA raises the question of influence of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on Russian reforms. The newspaper points out that "Russia's obtaining credits from the IMF becomes an increasingly tiring and labour-consuming process. The latest changes in the Russian economy (among them, probably, the signing of a deficit-ridden budget and the enhancement of the role of the state in the economy), evidently cancel out the cabinet's accords with the IMF. The IMF mission, most likely, will leave Russia with unfavourable impressions of the economic reforms being carried out by the cabinet of Viktor Chernomyrdin. [no end quotation marks as received]

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA also touches upon the problem of radioactive waste, emphasising that the destiny of the world's nuclear power industry now depends to a large extent on a solution to the nuclear waste disposal problem.

The aggregate radioactivity of non-dumped wastes on the territory of Russia is now more than 4,000 million curies. This is equal to 80 Chernobyl-type accidents. No sarcophaguses would help if control over this amount of radioactivity is lost, the newspaper points out.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, under the headline "The Constitution is Like a Stray Cat, No One Wants to Take Care of It", remarks as follows: "As a result of the introduction of numerous adjustments and proposals to the draft constitution, the idea of a strong presidential authority would be get finally emasculated and we would get an amorphous document which would suit everyone and which would not solve any of the existing problems.

"However, this cannot suit either the president or his opponents from the parliament. Someone must finally knock his opponent down. Outwardly advantage is on the side of the people's deputies—they may quite legitimately, through a congress either impeach Yeltsin , or abolish the presidency altogether...

"In order to launch an impeachment mechanism, the parliament leaders badly need a pretext in the form of some kind of the president's error. Under these conditions Yeltsin has only one way out: to bring the constitutional convention to its logical end—until it is finally blocked by the parliament, and then launch a propaganda campaign under the slogan 'It is Impossible To Continue to Live With the Incumbent Parliament' and declare early parliamentary elections, and simultaneously fix a date for a referendum on the issue," the newspaper observes.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with former Premier Yegor Gaydar, who examines the current economic situation. "From 1995 onwards, we may begin to grow economically in earnest but the realisation of this economic possibility entirely depends on the creation of political prerequisites," he said.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) runs an interview with Abkhazian parliament chief Vladislav Ardzinba who stated as follows: "We shall speak well of the work of the joint (tri-partite—note by ITAR-TASS) commission and all those who took part in it, if only in appreciation of the fact that as a result of their efforts, no shots have been fired for more than a month now, and there is no bloodshed or loss of life".

PRAVDA runs an article which maintains that President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine, when speaking at a joint special meeting of the defence and security council of the all-Ukraine Congress and the defence and security committee of the Ukrainian Government, ostensibly stated that to Ukraine "Russia is the chief adversary".

An automatic telephone communication is to be established between St. Petersburg and Tokyo in the coming month, the newspaper NEVSKOYE VREMYA assures. This will make it possible to have telephone contacts with East and South East Asia as well as Pacific Rim countries.

Five members of the St. Petersburg police headquarters personnel in a Zhiguli car have left for Italy to take part in a European police car rally, ST. PETERSBURG GAZETTE reports.

Police Chief Warns of Threats to U.S. Citizens

MK1409121893 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 12 Sep 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Arab Terrorists Are Preparing Terrorist Acts in Moscow"]

[Text] V. Pankratov, chief of the capital's Main Internal Directorate, has sent the heads of the city's militia subdivisions a telegram unprecedented in the history of the Moscow militia. Following is its full text:

"According to information from diplomatic sources, there is a real danger of terrorist acts and extremist manifestations being carried out on the part of Arab terrorists with respect to U.S. citizens on the territory of the Russian Federation. With the aim of preventing the above-mentioned illegal actions, it is necessary to make this information known to subdivision personnel. Particular attention must be given to briefing the officers going on duty in areas where diplomatic missions are located and in other places where U.S. citizens may be present. All incoming reports about possible criminal intentions with respect to the said category of foreign citizens must be immediately checked. Should any suspects be detained or explosive devices found, this must be immediately reported to the operations department of the Main Internal Directorate and the Security Ministry's Moscow City and Oblast Department."

Well, it seems that its own terrorists are not enough for Moscow. Now organizers of terrorist acts are beginning to be exported from the Middle East, which has from time immemorial been renowned for its professionals.

Official Denies Resignation of Envoy to U.S.

LD1409154093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1519 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—Russian President's Chief of Staff Sergey Filatov on Tuesday refuted rumours about forthcoming resignation of Vladimir Lukin, Russian ambassador to the U.S.A., in an interview with ITAR-TASS.

Georgia, Abkhazia Pledge Adherence to 'Peaceful Settlement'

LD1409173093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1603 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi September 14 TASS—Georgia and Abkhazia pledged their adherence to a peaceful settlement of the armed conflict between them during a meeting Tuesday [14 September] of a trilateral commission on Abkhazia, according to Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov.

He said this was the major result of the meeting.

"Striving for peace is not only the will of certain politicians, but the mood of a mass of people. Today this is clear and the task of politicians is to implement this will of peoples", Pastukhov told reporters after the meeting.

Valeriy Shuykov, head of the Russian part of the commission, said the conflicting sides had reached an understanding on many issues, but problems still remain.

"Certainly there are questions which are not solved yet and demand additional consultations and talks. The leaders of the Georgian and Abkhazian delegations expressed their readiness today to continue similar consultations and look for a peaceful way out of the current situation", he said.

Pastukhov added that no decisions were to be adopted at the meeting which was of a purely consultative character and aimed to promote the settlement of the conflict.

Abkhaz Leader Claims Georgia Failing To Observe Sochi Accord

LD1509103393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1009 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Punctuation throughout as received]

[Text] Moscow August 15 ITAR-TASS—"Serious concern" over the failure of the Georgian side to abide by the Sochi agreement on the settlement in Abkhazia has been expressed by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Abkhazian republic Vladislav Ardzinba.

"Georgia should have withdrawn its troops before September 1, but they are still in Abkhazia. According to our sources, A great amount of amour and artillery is concealed in the republic. In addition, many people who waged war against us are still in Sukhumi," Ardzinba said in an interview published by the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) today.

Ardzinba said he saw no prospects for the return of Abkhazia's legitimate bodies of power to Sukhumi. "Georgia is trying to revise the provision of the Sochi agreement which states unequivocally that the legitimate bodies of power which existed prior to 14th August 1992 should resume their normal activity straight after the troops are disengaged. But this question has not yet begun to be discussed. All this make us view the situation with alarm," said Ardzinba.

"Many things remain unclear and understated" in the course of the negotiating process," he said. "The problem of peace-keeping forces has not been settled, true the troops have been disengaged, but since there is no guarantor of stability, people can take up arms again. The big-time policy of the Russian leadership is also not quite clear to us. Here, in Abkhazia, we still have a long way to go to the final settlement of military and political disputes, while there, above, they are already talking

about signing a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Russia and Georgia," Ardzinba pointed out.

"Nonetheless, we will remember kindly the work done by the trilateral (Russian-Georgian-Abkhazian) commission and all those who took part in it. For the simple fact that no shots have been heard and no blood spilt for a month already. War is an argument of weak politicians. It was imposed on us," Ardzinba said.

Accords Signed With Georgia; Shokhin Comments

LD1409211793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1952 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—Turbulent developments in Georgia did not hamper the signing of Russian-Georgian agreements in Moscow today.

Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin and Georgian Prime Minister Otari Patsatsiya signed

- An inter-governmental agreement on economic restoration of regions in the area of the Georgian-Ossetian conflict,

As well as agreements on

- Re-registration of the debt on technical credits on results of 1992,

- Non-trade payments,

- Mutual obligations and demands related to the termination of the use of the rouble as a circulating means on territory of Georgia and the introduction of the Georgian national currency,

- Settlement of the issue of succession as regards the state debt and assets of the former Soviet Union.

An official report on the two-day Russian-Georgian negotiations says its participants expressed satisfaction with termination of combat operations in Abkhazia. The Georgian side said the withdrawal of heavy materiel from the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict zone will be completed within this week.

Negotiations participants called for the soonest negotiations on full-scale settlement of Georgian-Abkhazian and Georgian-Ossetian conflicts on a basis acceptable for all sides.

"Today Russia and Georgia made the first step to meet each other halfway," Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin told correspondents upon the documents' signing ceremony.

"These steps were primarily made in the economic sphere. But they would not be possible without changes in the political sphere, which has happened or will happen in the near future.

"This is just the first step. I hope the Russian and Georgian prime ministers will sign some more documents on Wednesday. These are a trade-economic protocol and an agreement on 1993 credits," noted Shokhin.

"We will become friends," said Otari Patsatsiya, commenting on negotiations' results. Asked about the current situation in Georgia, he said "the people has finally understood what is going on, and the situation will stabilize in a few days".

Georgian Response to Eviction of Russian Soldiers Hit

PM1409124393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Sep 93 p 3

[Gennadiy Sobolev report: "Illegal Seizure of Apartments in Tbilisi Continues"]

[Text] The command of the group of Russian forces stationed in Georgia has sent a letter to the apparatus of the head of the Georgian state and to the Georgian Government about the fact that Georgian Ministry of Defense servicemen are without authorization occupying apartments assigned to these troops.

In this connection Colonel of Justice Kukuri Martkoplishvili, chief of the General Oversight Department of the republic Chief Military Prosecutor's Office, made the following statement: "In the past two months especially many complaints have been received about the illegal occupation by Georgian servicemen of apartments assigned to Russian troops. In the majority of cases this occurs when the legal owners are temporarily absent or the apartment is temporarily vacated. Some 130 apartments have been illegally occupied, of which 18 have been vacated at the request of the Tbilisi Military Prosecutor's Office. Unfortunately, representatives of the Russian troops stationed in Georgia send only lists of illegally occupied apartments, without enclosing any of the materials necessary for eviction, and the military prosecutor's office has to collect them, which involves great difficulties. The Ministry of Defense and the military police have been instructed to prepare the necessary documents for the eviction of the lawbreakers. When a treaty between Georgia and Russia is concluded and the status of the Russian forces stationed in Georgia is defined, the apartments of departing servicemen will be handed over to the Georgian Ministry of Defense and distributed according to the law. Russian servicemen evincing a desire to become Georgian citizens will retain the right to the apartments which they occupy."

Thus the gist of the statement by the high-ranking functionary of the Georgian Military Prosecutor's Office boils down to the well known idea of telling drowning men to save themselves. In other words, Russian officers who have lost their apartments, which have been seized by people taking the law into their own hands in Tbilisi, must obtain certificates to prove that they lived where they did. And only then will they receive a faint hope of returning to their homes.

The author of the statement is formally correct. However, the entire business of the "apartment question" graphically illustrates how the Russian military are treated nowadays in Georgia. At the same time the top leaders of this republic never tire of repeating that they will allow no injustices to be committed against Russians. Well, as ancient sages used to say, if facts contradict words, so much the worse for facts.

Yeltsin, Armenian President Meet in Kremlin

LD1509104793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1026 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Sep—The meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, who arrived in Moscow today, has started in the Kremlin.

The leaders of the two states are expected to discuss the further development of political and economic links as well as regional problems, primarily, how to reach a political settlement of the Karabakh conflict within the CSCE framework.

Adamishin, Azerbaijan's Dzhalilov Discuss Karabakh

NC1409190493 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Afiaddin Dzhalilov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, and Russia's First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin held talks in Moscow today. The two officials discussed the settlement of the Karabakh problem and noted the recent high-level talks held between the representatives of the two countries in Moscow. Other matters were also discussed.

Russian Plane Hijacked From Baku to Ukraine

LD1509140993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1402 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondebt Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—A Russian TU-134 airliner with 44 passengers on board, one of them a child, was hijacked today on a flight from the Azeri capital of Baku to the city of Perm in Russia, the Interior ministry Press service told ITAR-TASS.

At 13.37 (Moscow time), the crew commander Mikhail Osabin sent out a radio message saying that three terrorists armed with two hand grenades and a mine forced him to change the course and land in Kiev, capital of Ukraine. It was not clear whether Kiev was meant as destination.

At 16.04, the plane landed in Borispol, just outside Kiev, for refuelling.

Yeltsin, Iranian President Discuss Ties, Karabakh

LD1509083393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Text] We have received a report from the press service of the Russian Federation president, which says that on the morning of 15 September Boris Yeltsin and Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani had a telephone conversation at the initiative of the Iranian side. The presidents expressed the mutual desire of both Russia and Iran to develop bilateral relations and conduct a multifaceted dialogue on topics of mutual interest for the two neighboring countries, in particular on matters of cooperation in the region of the Caspian Sea. The problem of the Karabakh settlement was a major topic during the conversation. Russia and Iran underlined their desire to provide assistance to end the armed conflict and find a stable political solution to the Karabakh problem. The peace-making efforts and the role that Russia has been playing in the process of settlement were noted during the conversation.

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin informed the Iranian president about Russia's assistance in the settlement of the conflict in Tajikistan and the strengthening of Tajikistan's southern border.

Air Force Denies Bombing Afghanistan

LD1509081093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0722 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—The Russian Air Force Command denied Western mass media reports about delivering air strikes on northern Afghan territories on Monday and Tuesday [13 and 14 September].

First Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force Viktor Kot told TASS Wednesday [15 September] that a unit of Russian assault Su-25 planes which are to support Russian border guards in Tajikistan in case of a major offensive of mujaheddin from Afghan territory did not fly on combat missions those days.

In Dushanbe the commander of Russian frontier troops categorically denied the bombing allegations.

"I categorically state that Russian border guards did not shell northern Afghan territories from Tajikistan. The reports about our missile and bomb strikes are a misinformation of the world community", Anatoliy Chechulin said Wednesday.

Kozyrev's Afghan Diplomacy Assessed

PM1409160193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 93 p 2

[Special correspondent Aleksandr Golts commentary: "Quiet Diplomacy in Troubled Region"]

[Text] Kabul-Dushanbe-Bishkek-Moscow—The noisy streets of Kabul and the dismal silence of Golboddin Hekmatyar's headquarters. Festive Dushanbe trying at least on Independence Day to forget its fears and troubles, and the 10th border post bristling with guns on the Tajik-Afghan border. All this and much more was compressed into Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's two-day trip to Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan. A trip whose main aim was to find real ways to stabilize the situation around Tajikistan.

Relations between Russia and Afghanistan have become bound together into a tight knot of problems full of contradictions. You can sense this even in short conversations with Afghans. The guard assigned to us journalists considered it necessary to inform us that he had personally killed three "Russkies." But on the other hand his colleague from the guard at the presidential palace fondly reminisced about his period studying in Voronezh. He feels no animosity toward Russia.

It is clear that there is no getting away from the fact that the two countries' relations are affected not only by the war, which caused so much bitterness and mutual hatred, but also by economic, cultural, and ultimately personal ties. In Afghanistan people are beginning to realize that these ties are of value to the country.

The need for a [illegible]e partner explains the fact that in the course of the talks the Afghan side repeatedly emphasized: The responsibility for the bloody war does not lie with the new Russia. It is also a good sign that the Afghan leadership is ready to adopt a more constructive position on what is probably the most painful issue for us—that of our citizens who are still in captivity. So, under the accord which Kozyrev reached, it is possible that several prisoners of war will soon be handed over to Russian representatives.

The Russian side is naturally attempting to consolidate these positive trends. Accords were reached on continuing implementation of a series of economic projects in Afghanistan.

However, the situation can hardly be painted in rosy hues.

Even after the talks, Afghan Prime Minister Hekmatyar, when replying to our questions, reacted very sharply to the CIS states' intention to form coalition forces to defend Tajikistan's border. In Hekmatyar's opinion, these troops should be pulled back from the border. And in Tajikistan itself it is necessary to form a coalition government, which should include the opposition. Only under these circumstances will the return of Tajik refugees to their homeland be guaranteed.

In spite of the mass of bland diplomatic phrases, you got the impression that the sides had not reached agreement concerning specific measures which might break the deadlock on the border. I think that it is no accident that, speaking the following day at the opening of the Slavic University in Bishkek, Kozyrev singled out the creation of a powerful defensive shield on the CIS' southern borders as a priority.

Are all the necessary measures being taken to repulse possible attacks? I asked Lieutenant General Vladimir Zhurbenko, deputy chief of the Russian General Staff, about this after we visited the Moskovskiy Border Guard Detachment's 10th border post.

"You could see for yourself," he replied, "the post's combat power has been reinforced by a subunit of the 201st Division. The border guards now have armored vehicles. A significant advantage in firepower has been gained over the military formations operating in this region on Afghan territory. But, as a military man, I must say that the post's ability to hold firm will depend on the number of attackers and on what kind of military hardware they are equipped with."

The foreign minister's assessment was much the same. It is not just a question of reinforcing border posts, he said in answer to my question. We consider that we should create echeloned defenses. At the same time, of course, it is vitally important that coalition forces guard the border. It was actually this, and in particular the role of subunits from Kyrgyzstan defending the border in Gorno-Badakhshan, which was discussed in Bishkek during my conversation with President Askar Akayev. [Kozyrev ends]

What I heard and saw in the Tajik capital evoked contradictory feelings. On the one hand, Dushanbe, which was carefully preparing for its holiday—Independence Day—was a striking contrast to Kabul, where whole districts were destroyed during its internal internecine struggle. You cannot help asking yourself the question: Surely those in favor of continuing the armed confrontation do not wish such a fate on their own people?

On the other hand, I could not escape the feeling that things were calm only on the surface. It was not only the large number of armed people in Dushanbe that convinced me of this. Our border guards did not hide the fact that in a number of regions the opposition has a serious influence on the population. High-ranking government officials do not in principle reject the idea of a dialogue with the opposition, but consider its leaders criminals with whom it is impossible to carry on any talks.

However, it is not for us to act as mentors to Tajikistan. Especially as recent speeches by country's leaders put the emphasis on achieving national accord and consensus among political forces. But Russia intends to send specialists who will help the young republic in all areas of state building.

As a whole, Kozyrev's trip showed that people in Russia grasp all the complexities involved in the task of achieving a settlement. So they would like to combine measures of a military nature with calm diplomacy. Diplomacy which will always hold open the doors for dialogue, however difficult this dialogue might be at times.

Russia, Tajikistan Agree To Merge Monetary Systems

LD1509092093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0851 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow August 15 ITAR-TASS—Russia and Tajikistan today signed an agreement on merging their monetary systems. Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin and Deputy Chairman of the Central Bank of Russia Vyacheslav Solovyev signed for Russia, and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Tajikistan Kayum Kavmidinov and National Bank Chairman Kayum Kavmidinov for Tajikistan [as received].

Sources in the Russian vice-premier's office told ITAR-TASS that the bilateral document was signed in pursuance of the September 7 agreement of sic [as received] CIS member-states on the creation of a new ruble zone. It specifies steps to be taken by Tajikistan for a full merger of the monetary systems of the two countries. These steps embrace the banking, budget and customs spheres and the pricing policy, in other words the entire set of measures necessary to make the ruble's worth in Tajikistan on a par with that in Russia.

Until the steps have been taken, differences will persist in the existing monetary systems. Notes issued from 1961 to 1992 will remain in circulation on Tajik territory. In order to service citizens travelling to Russia, the Bank of Tajikistan will purchase Russian 1993 banknotes. After the two systems merge, old banknotes will be replaced with new Russian currency now circulating in Russia.

Aleksandr Shokhin said at the ceremony of signing the bilateral agreement that this document "paves the way to deepening economic unification within the frames of the Commonwealth".

Moscow To Strengthen Economic Ties With Kazakhstan

MK1409114893 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 52, 14 Sep 93 (Signed to Press 13 Sep) p 3

[Report by Yelena Kolokoltseva under "Neighbors" rubric: "Russia Is Seeking a Replacement for Ukraine. Viktor Chernomyrdin Completes His Visit to Kazakhstan"]

[Text] The economic integration protocol signed by the premiers of Russia and Kazakhstan in the course of the 10-11 September meetings in Almaty and Kokchetav incorporates three main provisions. First, Russia and Kazakhstan have agreed in the very near term to consider the question of reducing the list of goods subject to tariff duties and to establish joint customs control at 67 points along the Russian-Kazakh border, and beginning 20 September to lift customs control procedures for citizens of both countries. Thus the present talks have laid the foundation for the creation of a customs union between the two largest republics of the former USSR analogous to the one that already exists between Russia and Belarus.

Second, Viktor Chernomyrdin and Sergey Tereshchenko have agreed that mutual deliveries of oil products to Kazakhstan and grain to Russia will proceed on a clearing basis, taking into account Kazakhstan's outstanding debt, presently estimated at $160 million. Already in September and October Russia will deliver to Kazakhstan 300,000 tonnes of gasoline and 540,000 tonnes of diesel fuel in exchange for 2.7 million tonnes of grain. In addition, the premiers reached agreement on the problem of the mutual clearance of the debts of both republics' state-owned enterprises: As of now they will not be included into the sum of the state debt. The sum of Kazakhstan's debt is estimated at 560 billion rubles, while Russian enterprises owe Kazakhstan 200 billion. A certain concession by the Russian side over the issue of Kazakhstani enterprise debt is related to a number of problems. Among them is the problem of the Russian-speaking population employed for the most part at large industrial enterprises and Russia's interest in preserving uninterrupted production of such raw materials as uranium and bauxites—almost all of which are exported to Russia—as well as rolled metal, coal, and grain. Significantly, the role of Kazakhstan as the key supplier of raw materials and grain is sharply increasing in view of the rise of an anti-Russian mood in Ukraine, which puts into question the very possibility of Ukraine's participation in the economic union.

Leonid Kravchuk was already forced to announce the impossibility of implementing the Yalta agreements on the division of the Black Sea Fleet. The prospect of Russia's laying claim to its share in Ukrainian enterprises or to their purchase (in other words, their transfer in exchange for debt, like the merging of the Belarusian "Beltransgaz" with the Russian gas concern) is also very unlikely today. Although to sensible politicians in Ukraine the necessity of participating in an economic union is obvious, their voices so far are being drowned by an uproar of jingoism.

In spite of Ukraine's colossal debt and the outstanding problem of the division of the former Union's property (and Ukraine is today the sole republic of the former Union which has not waived its claims to it), Russia is interested in integration with Ukraine and in all likelihood will render moral support to its present leadership.

Even so, the current political and economic crisis in Ukraine is forcing Russia to consolidate its relations with Kazakhstan.

First, Russia needs stable grain supplies. Kazakhstan is also interested in this. According to Nursultan Nazarbayev, the republic would like to increase the volume of grain exports to Russia to five or six million tonnes a year.

Second, Ukraine's abandonment of its role as an active subject in the emerging economic union automatically entails a weakening of the "Slavic threesome," which

denies Russia the possibility of striking a balance between the "western" and Asian directions of economic integration. This calls forth the need for political support by Kazakhstan for the Russian concept of an economic union and a new type ruble zone. It appears that Russia needs this support no less than Kazakhstan needs the expansion of economic and production links with Russia.

To a very large extent this accounts for a shift from fairly tough rhetoric characteristic of the Russian-Kazakhstani debt talks in June and July to a more restrained and friendly tone in the course of the current talks.

The principle of parity will presumably also determine the progress and concrete results of the bilateral agreement between the two republics on the issue of Kazakhstan's participation in the ruble zone. Experts of both countries have been working on them for quite a long time now, and there were plans to discuss its progress in the course of Viktor Chernomyrdin's tour of Kazakhstan. This, however, did not happen. "The agreement is in the process of being polished up," the Russian premier stated on the eve of his visit.

Kazakhstan so far is working along two lines—participating in talks on joining the new type ruble zone and, according to informal sources, introducing its own currency.

Half Oppose Russian Troops in Conflict Areas

MK1409091293 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 52, 14 Sep 93 (Signed to Press 13 Sep) p 2

[Report by Natalya Gorodetskaya under the "Poll" rubric: "Russians Are Against the Presence of Russian Federation Troops in Conflict Areas. Russian Servicemen Are Especially Strongly Opposed"]

[Text] The country's political leadership explains the involvement of Russian armed forces in conflicts in the territory of the former USSR by Russia's strategic interests. Pollsters of the VP public opinion studies service have conducted a poll on voters' attitude to this situation; they asked 1,017 Russians to answer the following question: "Currently there are hotbeds of armed conflicts in many republics in the territory of the former Union. Should Russian troops stay in these areas or not?" The answer "Yes, in order to stop the conflict" was given by 17 percent of those polled. "Yes, but only to protect the Russian population" was the answer of 27 percent. "No, they should not stay there"—49 percent. A total of 7 percent did not know.

Characteristically, various social and demographic groups demonstrated surprising consistency in their answers. Between 16 and 18 percent of those polled in all age groups chose the first answer; between 23 and 30 percent (among young people age 16 to 24 and among those older than 55 the numbers were 25 percent and 23 percent respectively) chose the second, and between 46 and 50 percent of the respondents picked the third response.

There were no significant variations in responses from groups differing in educational levels, either. The only section that stands out is people with higher education who showed a certain preference for "patriotic motives"—33 percent of them approve of the Russian military presence in conflict areas in order to protect the Russian population, whereas among people with incomplete secondary education, only 23 percent hold this view.

Among professional groups, the peacekeeping purposes of Russia's military presence in the near abroad are attractive mostly to servicemen and officers of law-enforcement agencies (32 percent), and least popular among the unemployed (7 percent), managers of state-owned enterprises (10 percent), and entrepreneurs (11 percent). The managers of state-owned enterprises (62 percent) preferred "patriotic motives" to the military presence, an attitude least characteristic of servicemen and militia officers (only 14 percent chose it). Finally, specialists with higher education (57 percent) more than any other group dislike the presence of Russian troops in conflict areas, which is opposed least by managers of state-owned enterprises (29 percent).

Navy Says Ukraine Stops Funding Black Sea Fleet

LD1509105093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1019 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Sep—The Ukrainian Defense has unilaterally and without any notification, adopted a decision to stop financing the Black Sea Fleet until the issue of Russia's use of the Black Sea Fleet and its infrastructure in the Crimea is resolved at state level, the press center of the Russian Navy reported today. As of 1 September this year, the Ukrainian Defense Ministry had a 17 percent share in financing the Black Sea Fleet.

The press center issued a statement which describes this step by the Ukrainian military department as "yet another attempt to worsen the already difficult situation regarding the Black Sea Fleet."

"The Russian Navy undertakes responsibility for fully providing the fleet with all forms of allowances, is doing and will continue to do its utmost to ensure the normal running of the Black Sea Fleet will make social provision for officers, warrant officers, and family members," the press center's statement reads.

Gromov Comments on Withdrawal, Role of Baltic Fleet

LD1409120695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1055 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Sep—The withdrawal of Baltic Fleet ships and units from the Baltic countries will be completed in 1994, in accordance with the interstate agreements, Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Navy, told correspondents today. Stressing that almost 60 percent of the Baltic Fleet's principal bases and all of its submarines are located in the Baltic countries, he noted that the loss of this infrastructure has led to the need to change the fleet's basing system.

Feliks Gromov reported that a group of admirals and officers of the main naval staff, led by him, was in the Baltic region last week to work on this task. "We again evaluated and studied measures which could help to efficiently solve the problems of establishing a new basing system for the fleet and of providing housing for servicemen at their new bases," he said. In the commander in chief's opinion, the current basing system enables the Baltic Fleet at present to carry out the tasks facing it. "These tasks are rather limited at the moment," Feliks Gromov stressed. "For example, the number of long-distance voyages undertaken by the fleet's ships has been reduced."

In his opinion, the Baltic Fleet could become the main structure within which forces are grouped in this region of Russia. "Its role will grow," the admiral believes. "This grouping will ensure the correlation of forces and resources which will guarantee the necessary security for the region." Answering a question about the quantitative and qualitative parameters of the grouping, the commander in chief said that it "will be more compact than that which used to exist here."

Latvia's Claims of Mercenary Recruitment Denied

WS1409072193 Kaliningrad STRAZH BALTIKI in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 2

[Article by B. Bugayev: "A Bubble About Mercenaries"]

[Text] This time, Latvia's official state newspaper DIENA caused a "sensation" by publishing the words of several high-ranking Defense Ministry officials who wished to remain anonymous (isn't that a familiar method?): Russian troops stationed in the Republic of Latvia are hiring Latvian residents for contract service under permission of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces.

In other words, Latvia accused Russia of hiring mercenaries. Beside this, the newspaper added shyly that "there were no Latvian citizens among the mercenaries, only permanent residents." Nor were there any Latvians there. The report said that the Defense Minister had no such information. Other facts were also presented. The report stated that 200 women, mostly wives of servicemen, were allegedly hired for military service, and that all the mercenaries were undergoing military training...

General Colonel L. Mayorov, commander of the Northwestern Army Group, did not hesitate to issue an official response on this matter. However, I will dwell on this a little later.

Thus, Latvia claims that the Russian Army and Fleet are being reinforced with the aid of hired soldiers. We have repeatedly written about people who come to serve on contract. I have not seen the term "mercenary" in any official document. Some people may associate this term with professional killers fighting in one country or another.

Yes, the fleet is moving toward the formation of units on contract, which is a positive factor in itself, because it is this method that can assure a painless transformation to a professional Army.

This is more than a burning issue for our units in the Baltics. It is no accident that the number of contract servicemen is growing constantly. It is not the good life that forces commanders to speed up the process of contracting for military service. Let us take the example of a ship rescue brigade. Crews are only 30- to 35-percent manned. Previously, they were reinforced with cadets from the Liepaja Naval School, which closed down earlier this year. The situation is the same on both surface ships and submarines.... Personnel serving fixed periods are being dismissed, young officers are writing reports, and the garrison staff is shrinking catastrophically. Due to this, facilities that require daily maintenance have become unfit for use. I think that soon we will have great difficulties manning garrison guards for the protection of storehouses with arms, ammunition, and vehicles.... This is far from an exaggeration.

The political ambition of Latvian politicians prevents them from seeing how things may turn out for Latvia since it banned the bringing in of even small numbers of personnel for upkeep. Russia is far more concerned with the security of Latvian citizens than Latvia's politicians.

In my view, it is this purpose that compels the military to speed up the contracting process.

One aspect is very significant here: The Russian Army is hiring Russian citizens alone, which is confirmed by the Russian Embassy in Latvia. Not a single non-Russian citizen has been accepted for contract military service in Liepaja. And one more thing. The Russian Fleet is only accepting professionally trained people.

As for the official response, it says that as far back as 11 February 1993, the Russian Supreme Soviet adopted a law "On Military Duty and Military Service" that defined the system of military service for Russian citizens and the principles of contract service for soldiers, sergeants, and master sergeants (seamen and sergeants). It is due to this law that a number of people have concluded contracts. The sensational news is "nothing more than a cunning trick."

The response pays repeatedly well-grounded attention to the fact that it would be much more beneficial to inquire

through the mass media when Latvia will meet the request of the commanders of the Northwestern Army Group to bring in 557 recruits who would engage in the loading and maintenance of military property. This request has been sitting at the Bureau for Control Over Troop Withdrawal in Latvia for several months, and the decision has been postponed time and time again.

An ordinary bubble has burst. What will the next one be like?

Further Reaction to Israeli-Palestinian Peace Agreement

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Comments

LD1409133093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1303 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—Moscow estimates the Israeli-PLO declaration on principles that has been signed in Washington as a historic event, deputy head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department Mikhail Demurin told a briefing here today.

"The Israeli-Palestinian agreements also signed by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher on behalf of the Russian and U.S. co-sponsors of the Mideast peace process, are a major step towards the achievement of comprehensive lasting settlement in the region," he said.

"We have insistently worked to achieve such a result and intend active assistance to the agreement implementation."

Without lessening the scale of current problems, the diplomat noted "Russia believes purposeful political efforts are able to ensure the achievement of goals of the peace process that began in Madrid. Broad international support to shoots of Mideast concord and assistance to the Palestinian population in development of their control over economic development will be of special importance".

At this stage the Russian diplomacy plans to focus on the creation of conditions to achieve a qualitatively new level of understanding between all parties to the Arab-Israeli dialogue said Demurin.

Agreement Seen as 'Step Toward Peace'

PM1409154793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 93 p 1

[Dmitriy Kulik report: "There Is No War Which Cannot End in Peace. After Many Years of Fighting, Arabs and Jews Have Finally Settled Their Differences"]

[Text] It is no exaggeration to say that the sensation of the century happened in Washington yesterday—S. Peres, Israeli foreign minister, and M. 'Abbas, PLO Executive Committee member, signed the declaration on the introduction of Palestinian autonomy in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho region on the West Bank of the Jordan. A. Kozyrev, Russian foreign minister, and W. Christopher, U.S. secretary of state, signed the document as witnesses.

The peace declaration may have been signed but peace is still a long way off. All 17 points of the Palestinian-Israeli agreement, which has been dubbed "Gaza and Jericho First," have to be implemented. It is presumed that within a month Israeli Army units will be withdrawn from Gaza and Jericho. All monitoring of internal security will be concentrated in the hands of Palestinian organs of self-government.

Dawud Barakat, Palestinian ambassador to Russia, described this plan—which, incidentally, has yet to be unveiled. In his words, talks will begin in the second year of autonomy aimed at finally resolving the Palestinian problem and possibly creating a confederation with Jordan.

The parties to the talks still have to tackle the unresolved problem of Jerusalem. The Palestinians continue to believe that this city will be the capital of their state. But premier Rabin has stated that "Jerusalem will always remain under Israeli sovereignty and will always be the capital of Israel."

One way or another a step toward peace has been made. That is the main thing. According to the latest public opinion poll, 62 percent of Israeli Jews and almost 65 percent of Palestinians support the agreement signed in Washington. On them will depend the future of this region, which has grown tired of war.

'Perplexing Problems' Remain

PM1409155793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 93 First Edition p 1

[Konstantin Eggert report: "PLO-Israel: Door to Peace Only Half-Open"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Washington agreement is the first, and possibly most straightforward, phase of the Near East peace process, the participants of which have to resolve several truly perplexing problems.

First, the rights of the Palestinian police, who are supposed to ensure internal security in the autonomous regions, are unclear.

Second, there is still no consensus on the subject of the final settlement to the Palestinian question. A Jordanian-Palestinian confederation could be a compromise that satisfies everyone. However, even today more than 60 percent of Jordan's population are Palestinians. With the almost 2 million inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, this figure is even higher. This can only alarm the king's family. In September 1970 Husayn had to use force against the Palestinians, who almost succeeded in seizing control of the country. In view of the growth of the influence of

Islamic fundamentalists in Jordan, the idea of a confederation poses serious problems for Israel, forcing it to agree to some kind of "security pact" with Amman.

The problem of East Jerusalem remains unresolved; the Israelis have proclaimed it their "unified and indivisible" capital. The Arabs prefer to consider it the chief city of independent Palestine. The "Jerusalem" question is capable of becoming the major obstacle in the way of a final settlement.

'Interim' Agreement Assessed

PM1409191993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Golts article: "Seed of Peace Has Been Sown. But Will It Be Allowed To Grow... Agreement Signed in Washington Between Israel and the PLO"]

[Text] So it has come to pass. And without fear of being mistaken, we can agree with the U.S. Secretary of State when he calls this event historic. The magnitude of this event is probably clear to us, who live in a so-called post-Soviet area, which is periodically turning into a field of battle between peoples who only yesterday were friends. After all, the issue here is not just that understandings have been reached on granting autonomy to the Palestinians—fairly wide-ranging autonomy, moreover, involving self-government and even the establishment of their own police force based on UN detachments. The main point is that two sides that for decades basically refused their "sworn enemy" the right to exist have recognized each other. Two sides that seemed to be separated by an absolutely unbridgeable river of mutually shed blood.

It would of course be hasty and premature to talk about achieving a lasting peace in the Near East. It is clear that only the first step has been made toward this peace. A extremely thorny path still needs to be trodden. The main obstacles are the rabid "war parties" in both Israel and within the PLO. These parties are prepared to fight to the last Jew or Arab. These forces are even now provoking mass disturbances, clashes, and murders. There is no doubt that political extremists of all colors, something of which the Near East has never been in short supply, will continue striving to wreck the agreements.

Another serious problem is that the agreement itself is only an interim one. After all, it does not finally resolve the future of the Palestinian people. And whereas Israel's leaders are stating that the autonomy they have granted is the most they can offer the Palestinians, all the indications are that Yasir 'Arafat views the agreement merely as a means toward the creation of a Palestinian state. The unresolved nature of this contradiction will certainly act as a source of confrontation. There are grounds for fearing that the seeds of peace that have been sown in the war-blasted soil of the Near East will not be allowed to grow, but will simply be trampled down.

But something else is just as true. The situation in the region will never be the same again. Because the enemy that each side has resolved to talk to is no longer just an enemy but also an interlocutor. And the fact that there are politicians who found the strength within themselves to look plain reality in the face cannot be erased from people's minds. The reality is that there is no way—be it by deportations, acts of terrorism, or "revenge strikes"—to achieve victory in this conflict. The endless cycle of violence cannot be broken by force. For the simple reason that both Palestinians and Jews live on this land and have no intention of ever leaving it. It has taken almost half a century of bloodshed for them to understand that they had to learn to live together.

Authorities Enhance Protection at UAE Embassy

LD1409141093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1346 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—Moscow does not belong to capitals where embassies have to enhance their protection, although this has been done on request of the ambassador from the United Arab Emirates after Monday's [13 September] explosion at the UAE Moscow embassy, deputy head of the Russian Foreign ministry's Information and Press Department Mikhail Demurin told a briefing here today.

The explosion, which injured two people, was preceded by a visit to the embassy of 10 Arab students studying in Moscow, according to Monday's report of the Russian Vesti TV news program.

In Demurin's opinion, one should not directly link the terrorist act with signing of the Palestinian-Israeli declaration in Washington before the investigation is completed. "In fact, ultra-right-wing and ultra-left wing forces in the Middle East resist the agreements, but one should not stir up emotions," stressed the diplomat.

In his words, the Russian side helps the UAE Embassy in repairs.

Khasbulatov Meets Turkish Prime Minister

LD1409092193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 93 First Edition p 1

[Untitled Parliamentary Press Service report in the "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" roundup]

[Text] Russia and Turkey are to undertake joint constructive steps toward rapprochement on a basis of trust, partnership, and democratic principles—that was the main theme of the conversation between Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, who is on an official visit to Moscow.

R.I. Khasbulatov talked about the complex problems of the development of Russian statehood and the role and

efforts of parliament to preserve the country's unity and stability in society. The accords on deepening cooperation reached during the talks in Moscow, he said, "will undoubtedly be supported by parliament." T. Ciller expressed satisfaction at the full mutual understanding and stressed in particular that "parliaments represent the peoples and as the supreme organs of power possess the strength of the peoples."

The participants in the meeting showed mutual concern at the state of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations. R.I. Khasbulatov noted that the Russian parliament does not take the position of an observer on this problem and is assisting in the search for peaceful ways of ending the bloody conflict.

Foreign Ministry Official Views Expansion of NATO

MK1509075093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 52, 14 Sep 93 (Signed to Press 13 Sep) p 9

[Article by Vyacheslav Yelagin, Russian Federation Foreign Ministry official, under "Setting the Record Straight" rubric: "What Did They Not Understand in Warsaw?"]

[Text] By publishing today an article by Vyacheslav Yelagin, an officer at the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs, SEGODNYA continues the discussion on problems of European security in the light of new realities of Russia's relations with NATO, which began with Leonid Velekhov's article "An Effective Phrase Or a New Strategy? What Lies Behind President Yeltsin's Statement in Warsaw," published in our paper's issue No. 50. The commentary by an official at the Russian foreign political department is aimed at explaining the position of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs which, as is known, has found itself in a rather dubious situation following Boris Yeltsin's 25 August statement in Warsaw, which "blessed" Poland's entry into NATO:

Russia understands the reasons motivating our neighbors to seek membership in this organization, i.e., to preserve a bloc approach to resolving problems. For our part, we advocate other options. European security should be indivisible. Attempts to ensure it by preserving and expanding military-political blocs are counterproductive.

International observers continue to comment animatedly on Boris Yeltsin's statement that Russia is sympathetic toward the desire of Poland and a number of other East Europeans countries to join the North Atlantic alliance. Special attention, predictably, is being focused on the Russian foreign political department's position. It is noted that the Foreign Ministry has reacted to this idea rather skeptically. Again, as has often been the case, the question arose: Who really shapes Russia's foreign policy?

In connection with the discussion that has followed it seems worthwhile to present the position of Russian diplomacy on interrelations with the North Atlantic bloc. First, Russia has moved away from one-dimensional appraisals of its past activity. Second, collaboration with NATO is being seen as an effective mechanism to overcome the division of Europe and help mutual adaptation on the continent between East and West. This cooperation opens possibilities for beginning work in a basically new sphere for Europe—the military sphere. There are more than a few examples here already. This, however, does not mean that Moscow is today raising the question of Russia's joining NATO. At the present stage what is involved is merely the establishment of partnership relations in the interests of pooling peacekeeping efforts. In the long term, however, as Boris Yeltsin stated in his address to the Council for North Atlantic Cooperation in December 1991, Russia does not preclude the possibility of joining NATO. So far, however, this is merely a theoretical question that can be regarded as a long term political goal since its implementation would call for the entire complex of problems of European policy to be taken into account.

By itself the idea about the possibility of Central and East European countries' joining NATO is nothing new; it has been repeatedly put forth by the leaders of these states. In line with the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a New Europe, Moscow recognizes the sovereign right of each state to choose ways of ensuring its own security, including participation in military-political unions. This thesis was reflected in the Russian-Polish declaration and the Russian president's statements during his visits to Poland and the Czech and Slovak republics, which contributed to a favorable atmosphere for a candid exchange of opinions on matters of reaching stability and security on the European continent, taking into account the current realities. This interaction, without a doubt, will make it possible to pool efforts in forming a climate of trust and partnership in the spirit of CSCE values, especially given that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have made a considerable contribution to this process.

Russia understands the reasons motivating our neighbors to seek membership in this organization, i.e., to preserve a bloc approach to resolving problems. For our part, we advocate other options. European security should be indivisible. Attempts to ensure it by preserving and expanding military-political blocs are counterproductive. However, it is impossible to settle interethnic crises and conflicts (apparently Warsaw and Prague fear this the most) through a mechanical expansion of the NATO zone. It is not ruled out that there are also other motives for immediately joining NATO.

A way out of the situation that has developed should be sought in building up the peacekeeping and anti-crisis potential on the continent, primarily along the lines of further strengthening and upgrading such structures as the CSCE and the Council for North Atlantic Cooperation and not by quantitatively expanding the closed unions or "buffer zones" that we have inherited from the past.

Russia is interested in seeing the upcoming January Brussels summit of NATO member-state leaders adopt constructive decisions, equal to the radical changes that have occurred in the world and in Europe. Raising the question of admitting new members to NATO without taking into account all factors will hardly bring the desired dividends. Therefore, it is in their mutual interests not to hurry with implementing the right of Central and East European states to accede to NATO. It would be advisable to look for other ways of evolutionary interaction in combination with a subsequent deep transformation of the North Atlantic bloc itself. This need is now beginning to be realized by official circles in Western capitals, where with some exceptions, there is no express desire to immediately replenish the "family" by admitting new members. Many foreign analysts are already concluding that the question of expanding NATO's membership will hardly be the main point on the Brussels meeting's agenda.

Against this backdrop, the persistent attempts by the Polish side to prod NATO members to adopt a decision on expanding the bloc's membership at the upcoming session appear overhasty and unproductive. The Polish mass media have launched a propaganda campaign, predicting in advance their country's full-fledged NATO membership. It is being openly stressed that Warsaw is not satisfied with cooperation along the lines of the North Atlantic Council and existing forms of military contacts. Some political leaders are not lagging behind them either. Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka at a conference of the European Democratic Union in Budapest sought support on this matter from the leaders of European countries present there. Her statement on the problems of Poland's foreign policy at the Center for Eastern Studies in Warsaw can be regarded as absolutely inappropriate in the light of the recent Russian-Polish talks. In the pattern of the four priority directions for Poland's foreign political activity outlined by Suchocka, the Russian direction was mentioned only in the context of the Polish Republic's joining NATO and the pullout of Russian troops.

This disregard for the importance of the entire aspect of Russian-Polish relations several days after Boris Yeltsin's visit has bewildered many political observers. Representatives of presidential structures and the Polish Foreign Ministry hastily dissociated themselves from Suchocka's assessments. And there was good reason for that. The Polish prime minister's speech comprised a perceptible idea of creating blocs and axis of sorts to counterbalance Russia. It also contained open criticism of NATO. According to Suchocka, "NATO's insufficient involvement in the East European region may prompt the countries in this area to look for other formulas for their security based on regional collaboration."

The impression is that some circles abroad have seen the statement by the Russian president as probably the most substantive result of his official visit to Warsaw. At the same time, it is being overlooked that the joint declaration signed by the presidents of the Russian Federation and the Polish Republic links Poland's intention to join NATO with the all-European integration process. It would be a very good idea if people in Warsaw once again carefully read the declaration and took into account the relevant explanation by the Russian side.

Koyzrev Arrives in Zagreb

LD1409154693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1526 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Excerpt] Paris, 14 Sep (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived in the Croatian capital of Zagreb from Washington today. On Wednesday the head of the Russian diplomatic department will go to Sarajevo after which, on the same day, he will again go back to Zagreb before returning home. [passage omitted]

Housing Problems for Troops Leaving Germany Noted

LD1409221893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Video report from Potsdam by correspondent Vladimir Kondratyev, including recording of interview with Lieutenant General I.P. Burlakov, commander of Western Group of Troops—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Kondratyev] The last year of our army's stay on the territory of Germany has begun. The troop withdrawal is proceeding strictly according to schedule, which cannot be said about the construction of housing at home for the families of the officers and warrant officers. For many of those departing, the situation is such that all that is left is to throw themselves on God's mercy, especially since in Potsdam, the town where the Aleksandr Nevskiy Church was built at the beginning of the last century, it was rather run down in recent years and representatives of the Western Group of Forces [WGF] helped to restore the Russian military church. Money was provided by the German federal and laender authorities, and our servicemen, for their part, helped as much as they could with building materials, craftsmen and the like.

Gratitude for this has been expressed by the rector of the church and senior representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church. The service of consecration of the church, the divine liturgy, and the lighting of the eternal lampada [oil lamp] as a token of friendly Russo-German relations by Lieutenant General Burlakov, WGF commander, were accompanied by a farewell speech from the clergy to the departing families and to those still remaining for the time being.

However, while paying attention to supporting the Russian Church in Germany, the WGF is not losing sight of its main task at the moment.

[Burlakov] We are today removing everything that can be removed from our facilities, we are taking it with us, and there we will use it for the housing of our troops.

[Kondratyev] The situation as regards the building of quarters with money from the German government has improved somewhat, as Burlakov pointed out. But the building of the other part of the housing with money from our state has seen a lull set in.

[addressing Burlakov] Even so, how many servicemen will be without quarters or housing initially?

[Burlakov] Well, at the end of this year, we reckon that something like 80,000 will be without quarters.

Former Minister Fedotov To Be UNESCO Representative

MK1109084093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 11 Sep 93 p 1

[M. Shch. report under the "Behind the Scenes" rubric: Paris Is More Attractive to Fedotov"]

[Text] If Marshal Shaposhnikov's transfer to New Zealand looks fairly problematic, the question of sending Former Press and Information Minister Mikhail Fedotov to Paris is said to have been resolved finally and unobjectionably. The Russian Foreign Ministry Collegium, the ministry's top body in charge of personnel matters, adopted a resolution on appointing Fedotov, who is a lawyer, to be Russia's permanent representative to UNESCO.

So the case of the former minister is starkly different from the attempt to make a diplomat out of an air force marshal. As soon as rumors began circulating about Fedotov's appointment to Paris, the ex-minister would not confirm or deny this information. Then he appears to have had nothing against a long-term job in France. Thus, a worthy group of former officials has gathered in Paris: Ambassador Yuriy Ryzhov, Trade Representative Viktor Yaroshenko, and Mikhail Fedotov, representative to UNESCO. The entire beau monde has flocked to the Seine.

Italian Satellite Launched From Plesetsk

LD1409012193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2230 GMT 13 Sep 93

[Summary] An Italian Telesat satellite has been launched into orbit from the Plesetsk cosmodrome with a Tsiklon rocket. The satellite will collect data for customers to order. Through the flight control center, the Italian firm Telespasio is in control of the satellite and the channel for broadcasting the data. The German company Kaisertrade worked together with the Russian electrical engineering institute and the Italian firm.

Oil Exports 'Significantly Higher'

PM1509083993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 93 First Edition p 4

[Untitled report from RIA, INTERFAX, POSTFACTUM roundup under general headline: "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow"]

[Text] This year, the volume of oil exports from Russia to countries other than former Union republics will most probably not be significantly higher than last year's level, when it totaled 66 million tonnes.

This was announced by Anatoliy Fomin, deputy minister of fuel and energy. He was commenting on a report from the State Committee for Statistics, which said that in recent months export volumes to these countries exceeded the figures for the corresponding periods last year by 20-30 percent.

Minister Comments on Foreign Trade Policy

PM1309144893 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 93 p 3

[Interview with Sergey Glazyev, Russian minister of foreign economic realtions by Fedor Sizyy and Yevgeniy Anisimov; place and date not given: "Minister Without Suitcases, But With Portfolio"]

[Text] Minister Sergey Glazyev is 32. He tendered his resignation seven months after being appointed. He is a doctor of economic sciences and a pupil of the famous economist Yevgeniy Yasin.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] In your letter of resignation you gave your reason for resigning as being the power struggle by mafia structures—the names of former Vice Premier V. Shumeyko and government apparatus staffers Sidorkov and Pivnyuk were mentioned. Do you consider V. Shumeyko to be the "godfather" of our mafia?

[Glazyev] My letter could be interpreted in that way only by a master of political intrigues with the aim of setting a number of political figures at loggerheads and seeing what comes of it. In actual fact I spoke in my letter merely of resistance from certain entrepreneurial structures (including some in the state sector) that the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations had experienced as soon as we tried to streamline raw material exports and, in general, restore order to our foreign trade. Clearly, the inadequate controls on foreign economic activity make it possible to redistribute income covertly. It is not very far from there to the creation of shadowy power structures guided not by national interests but by their own selfish interests. This exposition of the reasons for the deterioration in the working conditions of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations is not linked to the incident that incited me to tender my resignation or to the persons mentioned in it. They played a key role in the sudden return home of the government delegation I was heading, which annulled the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations' immense amount of preparatory work and undermined Russia's prestige in African countries.

Nor is there any link between these specific individuals and the power struggle by mafia structures alluded to in my letter. This also applies to the reference to the commission chaired by Yu. Kalmykov. The text quite

clearly differentiates between the reasons for the deterioration in my working conditions as minister and the description of the specific situation which forced me to submit my resignation.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Sergey Yuryevich, you will agree that it all seemed a bit strange—no sooner was there talk about you resigning or even being fired for gross infringements in the work of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, than you flew off to Africa. Because that was how some malevolent people interpreted your departure...

[Glazyev] There was a directive from the prime minister, the visit had been in the pipeline for some time, and an advance party was in Africa. It was no secret that we were going, the dates for the trip had been given in the directive and were widely known. So my departure can be linked to the accusations against me only if the facts are deliberately distorted. You know, we must separate purely bureaucratic intrigues—which no government is immune to, incidentally—from real work. In this instance, the interests of the job were sacrificed to the interests and ambitions of certain individuals who were exploiting the political situation. This situation is shaped by many factors and, of course, is not determined by pressure from criminal groups, whose tools are quite different—bribery, blackmail, and threats.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Were you personally threatened?

[Glazyev] Not directly. Although there is some information coming in. But the people involved in issuing export licenses and in registration are subjected to direct pressure. All kinds of methods are employed against them. I myself, as a rule, have to deal with political intrigues reflecting the different interests of various groups.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Judging by the fact that at the moment of crisis you were supported by major economists, entrepreneurs, and the ministry apparatus, you have many friends. Any enemies?

[Glazyev] Let's say they are not friends, OK? Of course there are people who don't like what we are doing at the ministry. The main reason for their displeasure is our activeness in establishing monitoring of compliance with foreign trade legislation. We demanded full transparency in foreign trade operations and thereby hit the interests of many influential groups. The resistance is usually covert, its manifestations are not clearly defined, but often are highly aggressive.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] However, you have a sufficient quantity of information to be able to neutralize a great many influential people without difficulty. Merely by hinting to them that such information exists...

[Glazyev] It is not our job to collect compromising material. The up-to-date information that we collect in order to fulfill our duties, we make available only to those who are entitled to receive it. We receive very many instructions, some of which people sometimes try to interpret as manifestations of personal interest and attempts to exert pressure. But usually it is state necessity that lies behind the instructions we receive officially, and it is our duty to fulfill such instructions. If their expediency is in doubt, I am obliged to submit a written report to the leadership.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Has that happened?

[Glazyev] You see, if it is a question of infringements exposed by our own efforts, we turn to government departments, the Control Administration, the President's Administration, and hand over the matter to the prosecutor's office. Until the investigation has been carried out, I would not wish to enlarge on this matter.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] All the same, you have your own missions abroad, and other sources of information. You could considerably reduce the losses Russia suffers as a result of illegal and not entirely legal exports.

[Glazyev] Naturally, we are doing this to the extent of our powers. But in principle, monitoring of compliance with legislation is a matter for other departments: the Customs Committee, the Ministries of Security and Internal Affairs, and so forth. If someone is smuggling, we can only convey that information to the Customs Committee and the Security Ministry...

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Nonetheless Estonia, which does not have nonferrous metals of its own, has become the biggest exporter of these metals on the European market.

[Glazyev] Yes, last year that was so.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Could you estimate the scale of gray exports?

[Glazyev] This can be judged reliably only on the results of spot checks such as operation "Trawl" and on the basis of experts' assessments. I can only say that the fantastic figures frequently brandished by the press do not reflect reliably the true scale of smuggling and concealment of hard currency revenue.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But Russia has already thoroughly undermined the world market for nonferrous metals, aluminum for instance: Private firms and mini-firms push exports of mineral fertilizers, timber, coal, you name it, even strategic raw materials. Enriched uranium, cesium, strontium—even weapons-grade plutonium is already being talked of as a commodity, specific prices are being named. Should something be done about this?

[Glazyev] If you reject exaggerations and attempts to sensationalize, you are left with not so very many well-authenticated instances of this kind of "trade" in the current year. All the recent work of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations has been aimed at stopping the uncontrolled dumping of Russian goods on the world

market. The main way in which raw materials disappeared without controls last year was through exports to the nearby foreign countries, for which, in effect, licenses were not required. A significant proportion was then reexported, almost without hindrance. As soon as we introduced a unified system for export licensing to both nearby and distant foreign countries (which happened in October of last year), exports fell sharply. And that is clearly visible on the nonferrous metals market, where prices immediately began to stabilize.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But meanwhile many Russian regions are beginning to introduce their own rules: the Far East, the autonomous formations... What is to be done?

[Glazyev] At the moment we have a single customs policy. And that is how it must be in an integrated state. If different customs rules operate on the same territory, then they are different economic territories. Here we take a very tough line with regard to those regional leaders who would like the right to issue licenses and to exact customs dues. Export licenses can be obtained only through the system of authorized Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations agents.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What about Tatarstan? And Chechnya?

[Glazyev] We have a single customs system, although there are many normative acts which are contrary to Russian legislation. The customs should allow through only those goods that carry our license, and should take the tariff established by Russia. Attempting unlawfully to retain a proportion of the customs dues for your own budget, just like refusing to make payments to the federal budget, can only be called criminal. In general, however, we are still managing to pursue a single foreign trade customs policy.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Regions and organizations often appeal to the government for special privileges. You were supposed to look into these—there was a presidential directive to that effect. Any results?

[Glazyev] Many regions and enterprises were unable to explain intelligibly what use they made of their privileges. It would take too long to list them—I will only say that more than 100 of the "privileged" were deprived of the right to the state's favor. Now, after the law on customs tariffs, the government has no right to allow privileges at all, if these go beyond the budget limits. In practice this means that we are no longer considering requests for an alleviation of the customs regime.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Stories of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations' toughness are current among both traditional and new exporters. Just before the fuss over your resignation letter, you barred a large number of firms from foreign trade activity. It was that decision, many experts said, that provided the grounds for your removal. What was the nature of your innovations?

[Glazyev] We export raw materials, and the revenue from exports ends up nobody knows where. At least, part of the revenue. We were left with no alternative but to toughen export controls. To that end we began, on our own initiative, to introduce an automated system for monitoring exports of raw materials. Enterprises that wish to continue to function as exporters must be totally open with us. That is, what they sell, where, to whom, how much of it, and at what price; and the existence of capital, including hard currency capital. That is our main requirement—complete transparency of work, including access to bank accounts.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Even if these accounts are in Geneva or Toronto?

[Glazyev] That does not matter. All accounts through which foreign economic transactions involving strategically important raw materials are conducted, should be under state supervision. Incidentally, serious firms which operate honestly are not afraid of this requirement—very many traditional exporters have already reregistered. Naturally, the crooks are frightened off.

Also, we do not register as participants in foreign economic relations those enterprises that adopt the title of "special exporter" solely for prestige, to show they are a respectable firm with access to the foreign market. In fact they have neither experience of this work nor qualifications. We screen them out.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Presumably you encounter resistance not only from the entrepreneurs themselves, but from those whose orders they fulfill. Different ministries and departments have different interests. For instance, it would be very useful to the economy to meet in full the notorious Indian contract for the delivery of rocket engines, but the Foreign Ministry sees this as an obstacle to improving Russian-U.S. relations...

[Glazyev] Conflicts certainly arise, such is life, the important thing is to find a solution that suits all parties in the end. If some department despises cooperation with other interested parties and buries itself in its own departmental interests or ambitions, the government "wins back" the lost ground and restores the balance.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But apart from India, there are very similar problems with Iraq, Libya, and Yugoslavia. That is, your conflicts with the Foreign Ministry are taking on the nature of a chronic sickness.

[Glazyev] On the contrary: The sickness is when you have stagnation and universal consensus. Our task is simply to create the best conditions for economic growth in Russia. We are trying to increase exports of finished products, including science-intensive and high-tech output. Such output is often dual-purpose, or can be purely military. We seek access to foreign markets, and therefore we assess every political act from an economic viewpoint. Economic sanctions against anyone are a two-edged sword, you can end up suffering yourself too. Therefore we are cautious. And the Foreign Ministry has

its own set of problems which must also be solved. Therefore some conflicts between the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the Foreign Ministry are inevitable. But the last word always rests with the president and the prime minister.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] You thus effectively deny the possibility of pursuing a policy of double standards. Yet the United States and other Western countries make the utmost use of that principle: Politicians ban the weapons trade, and entrepreneurs carry on trading for all they are worth. Iraq, for instance, was armed primarily by European countries, the USSR was nowhere near the top of the list of arms suppliers to [Saddam] Husayn in terms of volume of deliveries...

[Glazyev] Our government has far more levers for influencing producers, the majority of whom, in the scientific sphere of industry, are still under state ownership. One can simply dismiss a state enterprise leader for violating international commitments. In the West, the entrepreneur always weighs up which is more advantageous to him—to break the embargo in pursuit of superprofit, risking sanctions from his government, or to comply. So "double standards" are not always the policy of a given country's government.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But everything flows, everything changes: Entrepreneurs who are independent of the state are emerging in Russia too. Does the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations have the potential to monitor their areas of activity?

[Glazyev] That is what I am talking about: We are stepping up the supervision of exporters, be they state or private firms. We have a data bank where all the licenses issued are recorded. It is the only one in the country, in fact. It is automated, backed up, and protected quite adequately. From September, as exporters are reregistered, we will obtain full information on the movement of revenue from raw material exports. We will have information on the relevant trading firms. If necessary, we can collect data abroad too. So we have the real potential to exert an active influence on the country's export and import policy.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Finally, could you sum up in brief your ministry's number one task?

[Glazyev] It is obvious: Improve the country's economic situation and create the conditions for the resumption of economic growth. The strategic direction has been chosen—change the balance of foreign trade operations, which are still primarily based on the sale of raw materials, moving it in the direction of machine-building output. And gradually, step by step, we can change the structure of exports. You see, prices for our customary export products are falling, yet the volume of exports is growing nonetheless. A marked preferential growth in machinery and technical exports has taken shape. This is, I think, a long-term trend by now. The economy has begun to adapt to new conditions, and the new foreign trade mechanism has begun to operate.

South Korean Military Delegation Visits Khabarovsk

PM1409134193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 93 p 2

[Untitled Valeriy Usoltsev report under the general headline: "Official News"]

[Text] Following a visit to the Pacific Fleet, a South Korean military delegation headed by General Yi Yangho, chairman of the Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff, has arrived in Khabarovsk. There they met with the commander of the Far East Military District. The Korean guests familiarized themselves with the combat training, everyday life, and military routine of Russian servicemen.

Lobov Assesses Trade With Taiwan

LD1109220893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 11 Sep 93

[Text] In an interview made by our correspondent Konstantin Garibov the Russian First Deputy Prime Minister, Oleg Lobov, has disclosed the turnover of goods between Russia and Taiwan will amount this year to the sum of 500 million dollars, which is 2.5 times more than that of last year. He has also said that a Russian privately owned air company called (?Transaero) is about to carry out its first flight between Moscow and Taipei in the very near future.

Russia's current exports to Taiwan are made up of heavy engineering, energy supplies, forge and hammer equipment and machine tools. Taiwan has a system of education for medium and small businesses, for local entrepreneurs. It also looks for highly skilled Russian workers in order to form joint work teams with the most talented. A number of Taiwanese companies and joint ventures are making the first real step into the Russian market. They assemble computers, sell consumer items, home appliances and are undertaking to open a chain of quick service restaurants in Moscow and to start producing clothes made out of good quality Russian material, and hope also to use Taiwanese technology.

However, a more comprehensive approach to penetrate into their respective market is also possible. In particular, the Taiwanese business circles are looking out to pinpoint the channels for technological cooperation with Russia as well as for borrowing advanced industrial knowhow. The search for promising enterprises to invest capital is also going on. For instance, an agreement has been reached to grant five billion dollars of worth of credit to re-equip a number of metalworks and enterprises in the Urals and in the south of Russia. In the Far East investors drew attention to the defence enterprises that are being discussed and also to fish processing factories connected to the ports.

Speaking about the prospects for Russian-Taiwanese ties, the First Deputy Prime Minister, Oleg Lobov, said the following: [Lobov in Russian fading to English voice-over] We are consistent in developing economic and cultural ties

with Taiwan and work hard to create a favourable climate. We have let this known [as heard] to the leaders of the Chinese People's Republic as well and found no objections in this respect. We recognize a single China, which is the Chinese People's Republic, which has been underlined in the decree made by President Yeltsin on the relations between Russia and Taiwan. The Taiwanese businessmen constantly visit me and we keep saying our relations with Taipeh should not bring harm to our goodneighbourly Russian-Chinese relations, said Oleg Lobov.

Political & Media Issues

Presidential Council Discusses Elections, Federation Council

Yeltsin Says 'Diarchy' Must End

LD1409121893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1203 GMT 14 Sep 93

["Urgent" item; by ITAR-TASS correspondents Gennadiy Talalayev and Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin is set to end the diarchy in the country this autumn, but will look for a "peaceful and civilised way out" of the prolonged conflict with parliament.

"In September-October it is necessary to end the ruining influence of diarchy on Russia", he told the Presidential Council on Tuesday [14 September], adding that it is necessary to look for a "peaceful and civilised way out" for that.

According to the president, the way out includes the creation of the council of the federation, a plenary meeting of the Constitutional Assembly and a joint meeting of the Constitutional Assembly and the Constitutional Commission of the parliament.

"The overcoming of the constitutional crisis depends on the success of these events", Yeltsin said.

An end to diarchy is the major condition for improving the situation, enforcing order and promoting moral revival of the country, according to the president.

Members Comment on Meeting

LD1409160193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1509 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Tamara Zamyatina and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS— "The major priority of today is early parliamentary elections," member of the Presidential Council and ex-Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar told correspondents here today upon the completion of a Presidential Council meeting. In his words, the council members were unanimous in their opinion on the matter.

In the opinion of another council member, Georgiy Satarov, the parliament elections can be held no earlier than spring, 1994, due to technical difficulties. He also said the council members called for the adoption of a constitutional law "to hold the elections".

As for the Constitution, Satarov favors stage-by-stage work.

Presidential Council members Leonid Smirnyagin and Emil Pain told ITAR-TASS the president was criticized today for "inexpressive" policy by Georgiy Satarov, Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, leader of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement Gavriil Popov and other meeting participants.

Boris Yeltsin thanked the council members for critical remarks, which give occasion to thinking.

Yeltsin May Seek Support for Early Elections

LD1409181293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1531 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin may ask the people to support early parliamentary elections if the conservative parliament and the Congress of People's Deputies refuse to adopt laws on federal bodies of power and elections, according to several members of the Presidential Council.

Leonid Smirnyagin told TASS after a meeting of the council on Tuesday that the congress will hardly o'kay pre-term elections which mean an end to its existence. That is why the council discussed the possibility of a presidential address to the people "to ensure the legality of elections".

Lawyer Sergey Alexeyev added that the will of the people dominates the decisions of the congress and the parliament. "Legitimacy—the support of society—is superior to legality, i.e. to formally legal methods of implementing political goals", he said.

It was not clear whether a new referendum would be necessary to win the support of the people.

Georgiy Satarov told the council that elections can be held not earlier than next spring and Yeltsin remained dissatisfied with that "as he wants to keep the promise to hold them this autumn", according to Satarov.

Federation Council Discussed

LD1409223093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1754 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—100 per cent of heads of administrations, 60 per cent of parliament chairmen of Russian regions fully support the creation of the federation council, President Boris Yeltsin was quoted as telling the Presidential Council on Tuesday [14 September].

Member of the council Leonid Smirnyagin said that, according to the president, several leaders, in particular from the Komi Republic and the Novosibirsk region, advanced "unacceptable amendments" which leave no room for the president in the federation council.

Smirnyagin recalled that the council is to "ease the relations between the regions and the centre. If the president is excluded from the process who would the

regional leaders address their proposals to? [no end quotation marks as received] he asked.

Council Criticizes Yeltsin, Government

LD1409204493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By A. Goncharov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting of the Presidential Council, which Boris Yeltsin chaired in the Kremlin today, was devoted to an analysis of the political situation in Russia.

[Goncharov] Opening the meeting, President Yeltsin once again stressed the harm caused by diarchy and called for a peaceful and civilized way out of the present impasse. After discussion, the members of the Presidential Council were unanimous on the principle that the most important priority at present is early parliamentary elections. They called for the adoption in the first place of constitutional laws on the federal organs of power and on elections. For this it is necessary to appeal to the Supreme Soviet and the congress of people's deputies.

The president was reproached for losing momentum and not presenting his policies clearly enough. The Presidential Council was also critical of the government and noted that the Council of Ministers has ceased to be a team and has become a coalition government in which every minister is in dispute with the other ministers.

Summing up the results of the meeting, Vyacheslav Kostikov, the president's press secretary, stressed the main conclusion: The crisis of diarchy is becoming deeper, but it is impossible to resolve the present problems given the present composition of the Supreme Soviet and its leadership. Kostikov said that the majority of the members of the Presidential Council have advised the president to take quite resolute actions.

Yeltsin Addresses Session

PM1509131793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Sep 93 p 1

[Pavel Shinkarenko report: "After Dyarchy—What Kind of Power Will It Be? Presidential Council Session Held Yesterday"]

[Text] The participants in the Presidential Council session—representatives of political parties and movements, people's deputies, and eminent scientists whom the president had invited to attend the council meeting in the Great Kremlin Palace—were puzzled by one question: What should the head of state do in the next two "hot" months to enable the country to begin emerging from crisis?

When this issue of the paper was being prepared the president's advisers had still not finished work and the results of the discussion were not known. However, the day before, individual members of the Presidential Council told your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent that the main themes for discussion will be the fate of the Federation Council, possible ways of holding early elections, and the constitutional reform.

Opening the session, Boris Yeltsin congratulated the members of the Presidential Council on the beginning of the new political year. Even though there had been virtually no recess, he remarked. Nevertheless, the fall marks the beginning of political battles. The past summer was an anxious time, but political life in Russia remains turbulent and continues to exert not just a positive effect but also a negative effect on the economic situation and the life of the entire country.

In the immediate future, in September and October, the president noted, the course of these negative events must be halted and above all the destructive impact of the dyarchy in Russia must be eliminated. This situation must be resolved. Everyone has had enough of it. I believe that a peaceful, civilized path of overcoming dyarchy is needed, the president stressed. This is the most important condition for improving the economy, strengthening law and order, and even the moral regeneration of the country. The theme of today's session, the president stressed, is the political situation in Russia. In the near future there will be a series of major events—the creation of the Federation Council, a plenary session of the Constitutional Conference, a joint session of the Constitutional Conference and the Constitutional Commission, and a number of other events. The success of each of them and also the tactics and order of the steps taken will determine whether a way out of the constitutional crisis is found and what it will be like, the president stressed.

Fall Elections Unlikely

MK1509072693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Sep 93 p 1

[Vera Kuznetsova report: "There Will Be No Parliamentary Elections in the Fall. Presidential Council Members Criticize 'Yeltsin's Team'"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to information from presidential circles, Yeltsin will hold a conference on Saturday with chiefs of the executive and representative branches of the Federation components, at which they may be asked to set up the Federation Council. This initiative is under discussion, but its fate depends on the level of representation: whether the much-desired two-thirds of representatives from all Russian Federation components will come to Moscow or not.

After the Presidential Council meeting, Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary of the Russian Federation president, told journalists that resolving the constitutional crisis with the current parliamentary lineup appears impossible. "The president has a clear-cut plan for fairly decisive action in the short run," Kostikov added, "although tough actions do not necessarily have to be of an uncivilized nature."

The Presidential Council was unanimous in the view that new elections, at least for technical reasons, can not be conducted this fall. Thus, as experts predicted, parliamentary elections and, to all appearances, presidential elections too will take place next spring. The question remains, however, whether the incumbent Supreme Soviet wants to pass any law on elections in the near future and to compromise with the president—even if the compromise entails simultaneous elections to both the parliament and the presidency. Some Presidential Council members reaffirmed that it was planned to set up the Federation Council on Saturday. Observers reckon that, according to Yeltsin's plan, the Federation Council is designed to provide some checks and balances on the omnipotence of the soviets. The observers still have old doubts as to whether Yeltsin will manage to rally the two-thirds of the executive and representative branches' representatives from all Russian regions under the flag of the Federation Council.

At the Presidential Council meeting, its members made a lot of unflattering remarks about the presidential team, noting that it was time to bring order to it, an order under which all the president's men will at least speak not what they think fit, but what fits into the tactics and strategy of Yeltsin himself. A Presidential Council expert observed: "The current problem is not the struggle between the executive and legislative branches, but the struggle within the executive branch itself."

Yeltsin, Shaposhnikov Attend Security Council Session

LD1509082593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0745 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow 15 Sep—A routine session of the RF [Russian Federation] Security Council has begun in the Kremlin today.

Opening it, the president of the RF stated that the issue of the conflict between North Ossetia and Ingushetia is to be examined. Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray will give a report.

Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia and Ingushetia President Ruslan Aushev are present at the session.

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov who, it was reported earlier, resigned from the post of secretary of the RF Security Council, is taking part in the session.

Ossetian-Ingush Conflict Debated

LD1509140093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1305 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow, 15 Sep (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Security Council, which has been working in the Kremlin today under President Boris Yeltsin, examined measures to settle the Ossetian-Ingush conflict.

A release by the press service of the Russian federation president notes that the Security Council heard a report by Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers—the government of the Russian Federation—and chairman of the State Committee for Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities, as well as information from Ruslan Aushev, president of the Ingush Republic, and Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the North Ossetian SSR.

A political analysis presented to the Security Council noted that the tragic events were the result of attempts by nationalist, extremist forces to cut, with the help of weapons, the knot of territorial and interethnic problems that accumulated over decades. Other causes of the conflict that were singled out included: the activity of criminal groups and armed formations, the heightened struggle for power, the contradictory nature of acts of legislation on matters of state-territorial demarcation and territorial rehabilitation and the absence of mechanisms to implement them, and also the worsening sociopolitical and crime situations in the Caucasus as a whole and in the Chechen Republic and Georgia, in particular.

Special attention at the Security Council sitting was paid to the problems of refugees, disarming illegal armed formations, and restoring law and order. It was noted that the inability or unwillingness of the republican leadership to find a solution by political means through the talks process and also the ineffectual actions of the federal bodies of state power and administration were the main obstacles to a settlement of the conflict.

The Security Council approved the political assessment of the armed conflict on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia in October-November 1992. The approved document will be sent to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, the leadership of the Ingush and North Ossetian republics, and will be given to mass information media.

The statement of the president's press service says that during the Security Council meeting, ministries and directorates were given specific orders to take urgent measures in the state of emergency area. A number of draft laws to improve the legislative basis for settling interethnic conflicts was also approved.

Ryabov Optimistic on Constitution Working Group

LD1409170193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1621 GMT 14 Sep 93

[by ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—"There is no antagonism or conceptual contradictions" between drafts of the new Russian constitution elaborated by the constitutional conference and the Constitutional Commission, Deputy Russian Parliament Speaker Nikolay

Ryabov told correspondents today upon the completion of a meeting of the Constitutional Commission's working group he heads.

The working group was formed on the instruction of Russian President and Head of the Constitutional Commission Boris Yeltsin to prepare proposals on the elaboration of a single coordinated draft constitution.

A resolution of the meeting says "the draft new Russian constitution approved by the constitutional conference is an improved document, which has much in common both in its concept and text with the draft fundamental law prepared by the Constitutional Commission".

This is "the basis to acknowledge a possibility and need to elaborate a single coordinated text of the draft constitution," stressed Ryabov.

"Today we reaffirmed a possibility of constructive rapprochement of the stands," he said. "It is now the matter of politicians, their ability to prevent quarrels and keep the constitutional process moving".

Speaking of Monday's conference chaired by Executive Secretary of the Constitutional Commission Oleg Rumyantsev, Ryabov said the conference was fruitful and its resolutions can be used in preparations of documents to analyze the constitutional process.

On Wednesday [15 September] the working group will finish the discussion of a package of documents, which have been prepared by experts, and submit their conclusions and proposals to the president.

Composition of Working Group Criticized

PM1409135593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ivan Fedoseyev, secretary of the Constitutional Commission, by Viktor Petrovskiy under the "Topical Interview" rubric; place and date not given: "There Is a Coordination Group. However, There Is No Consensus Yet"]

[Text] On 6 September the president of the Russian Federation issued a directive setting up a working group headed by Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Constitutional Commission, to prepare proposals on the elaboration of a single, coordinated draft Constitution and a draft decision of the Constitutional Commission on the procedure for implementing the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's decree of 20 July 1993 on work on the draft Russian Constitution.

But if the working group has been instructed in advance to examine the draft approved by the Constitutional Conference (the Constitutional Commission's draft is not mentioned at all) what coordination can there be here?

We put this question to Ivan Vasilyevich Fedoseyev, secretary of the Constitutional Commission and member of the Committee on Constitutional Legislation.

[Fedoseyev] You are right. There is much in this directive which troubles me. At the Supreme Soviet session last Friday there was a proposal to create a delegation for consultations with the president on questions of coordinating the single draft constitution. On 6 September we talked about that with the president's representatives: Could they not persuade him to accept the idea of a joint working group to elaborate the relevant proposals?

But the group was not formed on the principles of parity. Without consultations with Oleg Rumyantsev, Ruslan Khasbulatov, or even Nikolay Ryabov, the president issued this directive which, I repeat, troubles me.

[Petrovskiy] So who is in the group?

[Fedoseyev] Mainly they are members of the Constitutional Commission and experts, in part from the commission, in part new people. In all there are 23 people. But if you bear in mind that virtually all the members of this commission are supporters of the draft elaborated by the Constitutional Conference (with the exception of Oleg Rumyantsev himself and Fedor Tsann-kay-si), you cannot help forming the conclusion that there is an unwillingness to work on principles of parity. In that case what question of a coordinated draft can there be?

But who knows? Perhaps this working group will suggest to the president that he should create a commission based on the principles of parity? We shall see. The proposals must be submitted by 15 September.

Presumably the principles of parity should imply the participation of representatives of the krays and oblasts, who have very major complaints about both drafts, don't you think? Especially since the triple principle [printsip troystvennosti] already seems to be embodied in the Federation Council.

[Petrovskiy] You are right, the Constitutional Conference's draft has received approval hardly anywhere. It is the same demand wherever you go—to enshrine the principle of equality of all the components of the Federation in the new Constitution.

So, after the lull, there will be a new round of constitutional confrontation. [interview ends]

In an interview with correspondents of Russian news agencies yesterday Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, announced that he has sent Boris Yeltsin a letter asking for several more deputies reflecting different positions to be included in the working group, deputies such as Vladimir Isakov, Ivan Fedoseyev, and Sergey Baburin. He stressed that he "will endeavor to invite to join the group all commission members who want to take part in this process, so long as they do so constructively." In his opinion, the working group will adhere in its work to the idea of the Supreme Soviet decree on mutual consultations between the Constitutional Commission and the Constitutional Conference on the constitutional reform.

Groups Propose 'Conciliation Forum' on Constitution

PM1409125993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Toward a Draft Constitution—Through Agreement"]

[Text] Leaders of the Russian Social Democratic Center, Free Russia People's Party, Moscow Federation of Trade Unions, and Labor Party have issued a statement on behalf of their organizations. In it they propose to convene a conciliation forum to solve the question of the draft constitution, which could be submitted to the Congress of People's Deputies.

The situation prevailing on the eve of the next Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies, the statement notes, urgently requires from legislators and the executive branch responsible political decisions making it possible to extricate our society from the profound political crisis.

Constitutional reform is threatened with complete collapse if several conceptually different drafts are submitted to the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies, which will lead to deadlock at the Congress. Consequently the constitutional process will be set back a long way. The crisis will push politicians into making imperious, unconstitutional decisions.

The statement's authors support the proposal to convene a conciliation forum this September to elaborate a single agreed draft Russian Federation Constitution. Representatives of the Russian Federation president (of the Constitutional Conference) and of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Constitutional Commission will be able to take part in it on equal terms.

Government Creates Press Freedom 'Watchdog'

LD1509101093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0805 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Sep—The Russian Government has issued a resolution ratifying provisions for a State Watchdog for the Protection of the Freedom of the Press and Mass Information attached to the Press and Information Ministry of the Russian Federation. The State Watchdog was formed by a decree of the Russian Federation president for the purpose of monitoring observance of Russia's legislation in the field of press and mass information, and constitutes a state supervision body attached to the Press Ministry.

In accordance with the document, the main tasks of the State Watchdog are to exercise supervision of the observance of Russia's legislation in the field of press and information, to promote the development of the processes of demonopolization in the sphere of mass information, to further the exercise of the professional rights and obligations of mass information media workers and publishing houses, to shape the culture of mass information, and strengthen the legal, professional, and moral foundations of the activity of mass information media. The principles of the activity of the State Watchdog "are legality, objectivity, openness, and glasnost."

The watchdog has been given the role of taking measures to prevent abuses of freedom of mass information and freedom of publishing activity; registration and reregistration of information media exercising their activity on the territory of the Russian Federation; adoption of measures to prevent censorship of the mass information media; analysis of press reports and materials for the purpose of determining whether their content is in keeping with the requirements of Russia's legislation, and others.

Shumeyko Interviewed on Corruption Charges

PM1309135793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 11 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with First Vice Premier V. Shumeyko and Defense Attorney Boris Kuznetsov by ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Observer A. Bukhvalov; place and date not given: "The Case Must Be Switched From the Political Sphere to the Plane of an Action Consonant With the Norms of the Law, Believes Boris Kuznetsov, Vladimir Shumeyko's Defense Attorney, Who With the First Vice Premier Is Creating an Important Precedent in Russian Jurisprudence"]

[Text] [Bukhvalov] Vladimir Filippovich, it is fashionable today to talk a great deal about a civil society and about providing legal support for the reforms. But surely our society is still unable to make a complete recovery from legal nihilism?

[Shumeyko] Unfortunately Russia has never been renowned for implementing laws. During the Soviet period the situation was simply absurd. Legislation prohibited economic leaders from doing anything independently—I experienced that for myself. The bans bred a huge number of instructions regulating absolutely everything. People simply could not reasonably fulfill all these laws imposing prohibitions! As a result they became accustomed to evading them...

In recent years the situation has begun to change: The laws binding enterprise directors hand and foot have gradually been repealed. Just take a look: The titles alone of repealed laws imposing prohibitions run to two volumes of small print—that is how many of them there were! But the old laws have been repealed while the new laws—including badly needed ones—do not yet exist. For instance, we lack a whole series of laws on support for enterprise. Today's entrepreneurs try to be aware of legislation, but there are huge gaps in legislation. The government together with the Ministry of Justice and the State Legal Administration conducted an analysis to discover what laws we in Russia particularly lack today. At the start of the year we gave the Supreme Soviet a list

of around 100 items of legislation that are badly needed today in order to provide the legal foundation for successful implementation of the reforms. We will make more active use of the right to initiate legislation. But the government is primarily an organ of the executive branch. Its main task is not to establish legislation but to implement the laws and to ensure the training of skilled legal personnel for organs of power and management.

[Bukhvalov] As the question of personnel has arisen... On 4 September we at ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI published a rejoinder by Russian Deputy Vladimir Varov, who drew attention to the close connection between the personnel problem and the corruption problem. He identified, so to speak, a "personnel-corruption" problem and noted that, apart from the long-forgotten "Churbanov case" [deputy minister of internal affairs and son-in-law of Brezhnev who was convicted on corruption charges], no specific step has been taken in this sphere—specific guilty parties have not been named. So maybe the roots of the irresponsibility and many other problems today lie precisely in the fact that no corruption case has been carried through to completion—there are simply attention-grabbing speeches, but there is no sign of trials or verdicts?

[Shumeyko] It is hard to offer an all-embracing assessment, but the personnel problem and corruption are quite closely linked topics. You need to remember Soviet personnel policy here. All personnel, especially leadership personnel, used to be trained and placed by the party—by the rayon, city, or kray committee or by the Central Committee... This was the tremendous strength of the party-Soviet hierarchy: The party nomenklatura was the foundation of the state. Party committees alone resolved personnel questions in cases of conflict—the courts and prosecutor's office could not act until a party organ had decided a personnel matter. In other words, a leader had only to meet the party's demands and he was out of reach of justice, whatever he did. But if he failed to meet them... The system was well known: There would be two or three articles in the newspapers, then a summons to the party committee: "You know, comrade, in general there is nothing specific against you, but after articles like those..." The result would be a party reprimand and dismissal, and once again there would be no trial or investigation.

Today the party nomenklatura system has been destroyed, but the new system for selecting and placing personnel does not yet exist. In view of this the president recently set up a Council on Personnel Policy by an edict. Filatov and I are cochairmen of this council. Self-critically I have to admit that so far the council's work is ineffective: After all, we have to create fundamentally new mechanisms of personnel policy and to establish a new system for training personnel and improving their skills.

The lack of a Law on State Service is a severe hindrance today. Since we have eliminated the subjective party system for training, placing, and assessing the activity of state cadres, we badly need a law to regulate objectively this complex of issues. A functionary must know on what criteria his activity is assessed, what his rights and duties are, and for what kind of actions he will be rewarded or punished. The law, rather than anybody's collective or individual subjective opinion, must be the guideline for the state apparatus.

Now, in the absence of a Law on State Service, there is a great deal of uncertainty and vagueness regarding the assessment of personnel. And uncertainty at such a complex stage is a breeding ground for corruption. Criminal legislation also lacks a clear assessment of corruption—it beats around the bush: offering a bribe, taking a bribe, abuse of official position...

[Kuznetsov] There is another side to the question. Think of the causes celebres of recent years—the notorious "ANT" case [cooperative accused of attempting to export tanks illegally], for instance. Polozkov used this case to build his political image. He became secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee as a result.

[Shumeyko] Yes, I clearly remember this case—from my election. The train that had been found to be carrying tanks had been on the tracks for a long time and had aroused nobody's interest. Then came the elections. The contenders left in the second round were me and a KGB lieutenant general, chief of the directorate for Krasnodar Kray. He needed an attention-grabbing image, and there was this train carrying tanks. Polozkov's team immediately began to crank up this affair: The first article appeared in SOVETSKAYA KUBAN [Soviet Kuban] and was followed by masses more. All on the same theme: Our gallant KGB officers, our quiet guys defending the homeland, have discovered... and so forth. Then Polozkov specially invited the deputy editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA to visit Krasnodar, and again there was a series of reports. The question reached the level of [former Premier] Ryzhkov...

[Kuznetsov] But in fact it transpired that this whole thing was a purely political campaign. When matters went so far as investigation, as the assessment of specific facts, it transpired that there were no guilty parties. It was nothing but politics, and in the end nothing came of the case.

[Bukhvalov] What is this—denunciation as a method of winning political campaigns? Not a real fight against corruption but speculative denunciation, where what counts is not the facts, not the result, but a trial that makes a splash?

[Shumeyko] Apparently so. It is a matter of making political capital out of heavily publicized denunciatory trials.

[Kuznetsov] There is yet another point here. Such trials have been possible because of the specific position of the prosecutor's office. I will use a specific illustration in order to explain.

I represent the interests of a firm in the case of the theft of funds via forged Chechen advice notes. The crime is

self-evident. But what does the General Prosecutor's Office do? Instead of finding and instigating criminal proceedings against the specific "authors" of these forgeries, the General Prosecutor's Office together with the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the Central Bank issues a directive establishing for the MVD a deposit account, into which all the sums sequestrated under this case are paid. What are these sums, what is this money? This money was received by enterprises via the Central Bank as a result of deals conducted in good faith. Yes, the sums were processed via the Central Bank on the basis of forged advice notes. But what have the recipients, who acted in good faith, got to do with it? Under existing legislation these sums cannot be sequestrated. Now Stepankov can report: "Under the case of the Chechen advice notes we have sequestrated such and such a sum!" But what will be the upshot of all this? The money in the account will vanish and the organizations that have suffered will bring actions under arbitration procedures. But the firm whose interests I am representing lost 80 million [currency not specified] last year—the money vanished into the MVD deposit account. What about the other firms? What about the lost profit? What about inflation? By next year this money will run into billions! And it will be the state that will have to answer—from its own pocket, or rather from our own common pocket. This is where there is tremendous damage to the country!

I have cited this specific example merely in order to demonstrate that the "ANT" case, the so-called Shumeyko affair, and the case of the Chechen advice notes are handled by the prosecutor's office according to the same pattern.

[Bukhvalov] In other words, the prosecutor's office finds it simpler to punish not those who are guilty but those who... are closest to hand? Or those who have been identified by the latest "denouncer"?

[Kuznetsov] Exactly so. It seems that the prosecutor's office is afraid of overwork: It is a hassle to seek out the facts and establish the actual guilty party. It is much easier to apply sanctions against someone who is closer to hand and who is not hiding. And it is even easier to turn a criminal case into a criminal-political case. Although politics should have nothing whatever to do with the criminal legal or civil legal spheres!

[Bukhvalov] Yes, the intrusion of politics into the criminal legal sphere usually has a whiff of 1937 about it... Incidentally, about politics, Vladimir Filippovich! Your opponents and sometimes the press complain: That Shumeyko, all he does is engage in politics! But so far as I recall, you are responsible in the government precisely for the most highly politicized sphere.

[Shumeyko] Yes, my sphere of responsibility is designated as: providing information and personnel support for the reforms, liaising with political parties, social organizations, movements, and religious associations, questions of science, culture, and education, and so forth.

[Bukhvalov] In other words the "personnel-corruption" problem is very close to your sphere of responsibility and the president has temporarily suspended you from your duties so you can create an extremely important legal precedent today in the sphere for which you are responsible! On the one hand the "Shumeyko affair" will teach functionaries to answer for every resolution, every signature on a document. On the other hand it will teach top officials not to make peremptory accusations and trade insults from lofty rostrums. You will have to reveal what the fight against corruption is at the present stage—a real process of identifying and punishing the guilty parties, or a political bluff.

[Shumeyko] I will go all the way and I promise to act vigorously. I see it as my task under the president's edict to carry the case to completion in as short a time as possible. And you are right that this is not just a matter of First Vice Premier Shumeyko, although the main underlying motives for this affair are political. In general everything is interwoven in this affair—politics, criminal law, civil law... I am being accused of corruption from the rostrum of the Supreme Soviet and from other platforms. But this is not a political accusation—this is an action attracting a criminal penalty. And what is happening in connection with this affair in the sphere of criminal law? A man is paraded virtually as a criminal, but he is a witness in a criminal case. Even A. Yakovlev, Stepankov's assistant in charge of the "Shumeyko affair," tells me in an official letter that there is absolutely no case against me... But the accusations have been made and disseminated by the mass media! The affair may drag on interminably. What should the president do in this situation? The man whom he appointed by his edict cochairman of the Council on Personnel Policy, the man who is in charge of political issues in the government, is almost openly accused of corruption! The accusation is being circulated: The opposition constantly uses the cliche: "Just see what kind of people there are in the president's entourage!"

I think that the president was forced to assume the role that the general prosecutor has been avoiding for so long: to decide the question of removal. Naturally, in view of the absence of a submission from the prosecutor, temporary removal, and removal not from office but from the performance of my direct duties. I have to concentrate on the whole package of issues involved in this protracted affair and secure a final solution as swiftly as possible. If I am guilty, file charges; if I am innocent, close the case and let's calmly get down to work.

[Bukhvalov] Mr. Defense Attorney, I would like to hear your comments about the following question. Naturally, in the situation prevailing in the country the first vice premier in charge of the political sphere should not be sidelined for long. Can the process be accelerated somehow so that the General Prosecutor's Office can close this affair more swiftly?

[Kuznetsov] One way of accelerating the investigation would be for me to transfer to the General Prosecutor's

Office, but I have no intention of doing so. But joking apart, you should not mix politics with the criminal process or with other branches of the law. Take the president's edict. Unfortunately, the president is essentially repeating the mistake of the General Prosecutor's Office, which petitioned the Supreme Soviet for removal. The Supreme Soviet issued an absolutely illegal decree. Then came the president's edict... I differ with my client Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko in my assessment of this edict. After all, I am independent not only of all power structures, but of my clients too.

Right, about the edict. Politics may be politics, but there is criminal procedural legislation and there is also labor legislation. There is no Law on State Service, so let us look at existing legislation. The president is not a jurist; as in any normal country, the edict was drafted by experts. So far as I recall, Shakhray is still mentioned as the main jurist among the president's entourage, but he categorically denies being involved in this edict. Whether it was him or someone else does not matter. But the authors of this document could at least have glanced at the Code of Labor Laws! This clearly states who can be removed from office under the law and how. You can be temporarily removed from office, please excuse me, for appearing at work in a state of intoxication. The legislation mentions no political point.

[Bukhvalov] Mr. Defense Attorney, what are the immediate prospects in the affair?

[Kuznetsov] We will take a step toward the General Prosecutor's Office: We need to find out what documents they need and what questions they still have. At the same time, in view of Vladimir Filippovich's disputed procedural position—because of the errors of the General Prosecutor's Office, because of blanks in legislation—transcripts of the upcoming conversations will not be drawn up as records of interrogation. Under the constitution, a person is not obliged to testify against himself—our unvarying position is based on this. To some extent it is now easier for me to work—Vladimir Filippovich is temporarily busy with the legal saga alone. Now our business in the criminal legal sphere may be completed much more swiftly. After all, everybody knows that there have already been plenty of cases where similar politicized criminal cases have burst like a soap bubble after charges were brought, or even without this. Once we have finished with the criminal case, my client will be able to return to work. And he will not have to particularly divert himself to deal with [civil] actions—as his proxy I will ensure the interests of our side in the civil process. The most important thing is to move the whole complex of matters from the political sphere to the sphere of operation of the relevant legal norms.

[Bukhvalov] That is, you see it as your task primarily to depoliticize matters?

[Kuznetsov] Certainly. Matters must be examined within the framework of the law, not in the interests of a specific political grouping.

As for the criminal case, Vladimir Filippovich will continue to cooperate with the investigating organs and will clarify the questions that the prosecutor's office still has. For our part we will carry out—not formally, of course, but in essence—our own "preliminary investigation." We may seek the assistance of experts and ask them to analyze particular episodes in the "Shumeyko affair." For instance, the economic expediency of the recommendations contained in a particular signed document at the time it was signed. After all, the point is that an entirely correct and valid document may subsequently be used by someone for mercenary purposes. But the person who signed the document is not guilty in this case. Both investigators and economic managers are well aware how a perfectly legitimately signed document can be used to mercenary purposes.

We may also analyze a signed document from a different viewpoint: Isn't the level of sensible economic risk set too high? After all, the market economy necessarily includes a greater or lesser level of such risk. There are also other parameters on the basis of which independent experts can analyze my client's actions that have attracted interest from the prosecutor's office.

Now about the civil actions regarding defense of honor and dignity. One action has already been brought—your newspaper published its text. Regarding the second action, we have sent letters to the editorial offices of the newspapers that circulated inaccurate information. Under the law, before bringing such an action, you have to establish whether newspapers will voluntarily apologize—if so, they will be removed from the action. A separate action will also be brought against the newspaper DEN: I think there is no need for comment—everything is already clear.

[Bukhvalov] Please don't think the question rude, Mr. Defense Attorney, it interests many readers: What remuneration do you receive for your work on the "Shumeyko affair"?

[Kuznetsov] None! We have concluded an agreement with Vladimir Filippovich, and I am handling this affair for free. Why? First, I find it very interesting. Second, this is not the first case in which similar services have been provided for free: My clients know that I have handled many cases relating to labor disputes for free. I also handle some other cases for free—I myself decide which ones. And third, I handle the affairs of various firms and organizations, which pay me accordingly. As a result Vladimir Filippovich and I want just one little paper—a General Prosecutor's Office form officially notifying us that the case is being closed on the grounds that no offense was committed. And that will end this criminal-political saga. [Kuznetsov ends]

Shortly after this discussion Vladimir Shumeyko visited the General Prosecutor's Office. At the end of the meeting with Senior Counselor of Justice A. Yakovlev, Stepankov's assistant, the first vice premier commented briefly on its results:

"It made a routine impression. I have absolutely no complaints about the investigator, I have complaints about the prosecutor's office—after Makarov's speech. And in general all my relations have been based on the assumption that 'first they made accusations, now they are calling me as a witness.' Nevertheless, today I think we worked fruitfully. At least, the mass of questions I was asked did not go unanswered. I think that if we move at this pace, we will have things straightened out in a couple of weeks or so.

"On the basis of today's talk with Yakovlev, I think there is no pressure. In general, in my view, it is hard to pressure him—he tries to take an unbiased view.

"No charge was brought. It turns out that in effect after Deputy Prosecutor General Makarov's speech in the Supreme Soviet an accusation was voiced in the mass media and everyone picked it up—about corruption and all the rest. But at present no charges have been brought, and we are talking as investigator and witness.

"After all, we are building a rule-of-law state—that is what we have announced. We must act in a rule-of-law fashion. We will sort things out, and I think everything will be fine."

Poll Shows Majority Favors Khasbulatov Resignation

LD1509111993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Vdovin]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Sep—The majority of Russians (65 percent) and Muscovites (70 percent) polled believe that Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov should resign. This is demonstrated by the results of a sociological poll by the independent "Mneniye" [Opinion] service in which 1,000 people in 24 regions of the Russian Federation and 1,600 Muscovites took part.

The Supreme Soviet chairman's popularity rating has fallen from 31 to 19 percent, compared to the summer of 1992. Only 10 percent of the capital's residents believe that Ruslan Khasbulatov should continue in office.

At the same time, 50 percent of Muscovites and 48 percent of Russians voiced support in the poll for the Russian Federation president. Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin "gained" the support of 46 percent of Russians polled, while the government as a whole gained 42 percent.

According to the poll, Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy gained the support of 39 percent of Russians and only 20 percent of the capital's residents, whereas last summer the figures were 53 and 51, respectively.

Communist Leader Decries 'Disintegration' of Society

PM1309123593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 93 pp 1-2

[Interview with G.A. Zyuganov, chairman of Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee, by Valentina Nikiforova; place and date not given: "Gennadiy Zyuganov: 'A Nation Must Respect Itself'"]

[Text] The articles "The Russian Question" and "Power" by Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee, attracted attention because of their integral and systemic interpretation of Russian history and gave rise to quite a few arguments. Understandably, the process of investigating Russian spirituality and our idea of power was not simple or easy. It was evidently necessary to abandon certain stereotypes and to reinterpret and reassess a great deal. And yet there must have been a chief reason which prompted those articles in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. What was it? PRAVDA's correspondent asked G. Zyuganov to answer this and other questions.

[Zyuganov] It is precisely the lack of a single patriotic world outlook—simple and understandable—that is the cause of our motherland's present troubles and of all the political failures of the anti-Yeltsin opposition.

People are destroying Russia in a well thought-out and consistent way, not struggling against socialism but implementing a plan to remove Russia from the geopolitical arena. We are the last force on the planet today that is capable of opposing the establishment of a "new world order" and a global cosmopolitical dictatorship. Therefore we must counteract the destroyers in an equally well thought-out and purposeful way. For this the unity of national forces is as vital as the air we breathe.

The scale of the historical challenge that our people have now come up against is probably commensurate only with the troubles of the 17th century and the invasions by Napoleon and Hitler. It must be understood that life today poses this question point-blank: Either we realize the seriousness of our position and mobilize all reserves to fight for our survival, or Russia as an independent state and the Russian people as a centuries-old spiritual community will vanish from the face of the earth....

The extraordinary nature of the situation demands corresponding solutions. This has happened before, in 1941, when literally in the space of a few months the Soviet leadership radically revised many ideological principles and recognized the vital necessity of relying on traditional national values. We must act equally decisively today.

[Nikiforova] Gennadiy Andreyevich, are you not laying it on a bit thick when you speak of a purposeful policy of

destroying Russia? Patriots are also accused at every intersection of imagining "world conspiracies" everywhere.

[Zyuganov] Totally groundless accusations. It all depends on what you mean by the word "conspiracy." People attach to it some terrifying, mystical significance, whereas this is nothing more than a term defining coordinated action to achieve a set aim. The U.S. leadership, let us say, meets and decides that U.S. interests demand the weakening of Russia in every way possible. Is this a conspiracy? It is reality. It was not for nothing that Brzezinski, a former U.S. presidental assistant for national security affairs, put it vigorously and categorically: "Russia will be broken up and placed under trusteeship."

Chance occurrences generally happen extremely seldom in big-time politics. The myth of the natural arbitrary flow of events is strenuously inculcated in the mass consciousness by precisely those forces that wish to hide their improper activity beneath the signboard of "objective processes."

Russia has been driven from the warm seas in the west, and, if you imagine the handover to Japan of some of the Kuril Islands with ice-free straits in the east, we will finally be driven into a situation in which it is impossible to resolve a single serious state task. The Yeltsins, Chubayses, and Burbulises will in any case go, but today they are betraying the highest national interests!

[Nikiforova] As leader of the Russian Communist Party, you ought by virtue of your post to champion a strictly class approach to analyzing current events. But you emphatically accentuate the national substance of your political world outlook. Is there not a contradiction here?

[Zyuganov] No. I am, above all, a citizen of my fatherland, a small part of my people. Therefore I am deeply convinced that the political perspective in Russia is held only by those forces which set the priority task of reviving the centuries-old values of Russian power and collectivism, i.e. of such a social state and self-awareness whereby the entire Russian people, overcoming the splits imposed on it from within and without, assert themselves as a united family. We are related to each other! We do not have the right to fight each other once again.. This is what it is important to understand if we seriously wish to revive the country and to counter the terrible force of enslavement, corruption, and enmity which has descended upon our land.

As regards the class approach, it must be supplemented by the cultural-historical and sociopsychological approach. It is absurd to deny the existence of classes and social strata in society. In pre-Petrine Russia (and in many respects right up until the revolution itself) they coincided with the estates [sosloviye], and the elaboration of mechanisms of inter-estate and interethnic unity is a very great achievement. Of course, class interests cannot coincide everywhere and in everything. But these differences were—and must be once again—a source of constructive social dialogue and a mover of rational state reforms, not of troubles, revolts, and wars. Revolts and rebellions occurred precisely when attempts were made to establish a class dictatorship, regardless of whether it was a dictatorship of boyars, nobles, or the proletariat.

I have traveled all over Russia in recent years. I have met with people hundreds of times and addressed very different audiences in terms of age range, professional makeup, education, and nationality. Everywhere I have encountered understanding of the fact that it is necessary to revive the people's national unity and that without this it is impossible to restore the country's state, power form. If we are able to turn class analysis into a tool for developing such unity and into a methodology for formulating harmonious interestate compromises and a healthy balance of interclass interests, then we will restore to it its vital and promising nature.

[Nikiforova] You try to combine the best Soviet state traditions with Russia's centuries-old values. What are the chief complexities on this path?

[Zyuganov] Unfortunately, to this day we remain adherents of extremes, out of habit contrasting the "white" idea and the "red" idea.

I was born and grew up in the Soviet Union, was educated in the spirit of pride (not arrogance) in my fatherland, and admired the military and labor exploit of the people who built the world's greatest power from ashes and defended it in a terrible war. It is senseless, absurd, and against common sense to deny the achievements of that period of our history. You have only to remember that it is precisely one of the periods of the Russian state's centuries-old history. Our future fate depends directly on the lessons we are able to draw from it.

In my view, the first such practical lesson must be the **lesson of common sense**. This is that life is always broader, deeper, and more complex than any schemes. Attempts to jam the actual diversity of the people's existence into the procrustean bed of invented constructions, from whomever they stem and whatever noble aims they pursue, are hopeless and sometimes even dangerous.

Only by relying on the people's very rich, 1,000-year experience in the sphere of social structure and state building is it possible to safeguard Russia's future from running to destructive extremes, including ideological fanaticism and political extremism.

The second lesson which must be drawn from the recent decades of Russian history is also directly connected with this conclusion. It can be defined as the **lesson of historical continuity**. It teaches us that any actions aimed at tearing the unified historical fabric of the common past are inadmissible. People must be aware of it in indissoluble unity as a national sacred object, as the foundation of the people's creative potential, the basis of the country's state unity and power strength.

We were wrong to make out that "there was no history," or only bad history, prior to 1917. So we must learn from our mistakes. For an attempt is now being made to drive

us into the same impasse, only with an inverse sign: Supposedly "there was no history" after 1917, just one big black hole. But this too is an unprecedented lie. In refuting such a lie, we must definitely bear in mind that it can be effectively countered only if we are aware of the historical unity of our life in all its tragic and heroic diversity.

The third lesson I would call the **lesson of national originality**. The history of mankind from the most ancient times to the present day has been developing as the history of the tribes and peoples who make it up. It is just as absurd to ignore national features as to fail to notice features of age or, let us say, sex. The whole very rich diversity of world cultures—from Ancient Egypt to modern Japan—has developed and flowered for millennia within the framework of national ideas. But there are forces that are trying to destroy this diversity and to drive all people into their own consumer-good, intellectual-domestic concentration camp.

This lesson is particularly important for Russia with its "12 tribes." It includes two fundamental points that have been tested over many centuries and have withstood severe trials in the fire of wars.

First point: The Russian people in their collective plenitude are the sovereign custodian of Russian statehood and its chief vehicle and defender.

Second point: The free development to the greatest degree possible of the national originality of the peoples and tribes who have linked their historical destiny with Russia must be the cornerstone of Russian state policy.

These two postulates are very closely interconnected. A people that does not respect itself will never respect others. Therefore the revival of Russian national self-awareness is an indispensable condition for improving the health of interethnic relations in Russia. On the other hand, no sober-minded national leader, whether in the Caucasus or in Yakutia, can fail to understand that the weakening and degeneration of the Russian ethnos almost automatically dooms its fellow countrymen to degeneration and destruction, for the connecting link of a vast geographic, political, economic, and spiritual area disappears, and the resultant inevitable cataclysm simply sweeps small peoples off the face of the earth in a chaos of economic dislocation and interethnic feuds, of claims between neighbors and internecine strife.

At the political level this lesson in national originality means adherence to clear-cut centralization of a limited number of the most important statewide functions in the Russian political center along with its total noninterference in the internal affairs of local national self-management.

Finally, the fourth very important lesson is the **lesson of social justice**. The people's conscience is intolerant of undeserved wealth, unsubstantiated privileges, and material inequality. No vouchers can deceive it. The only strong structure of society will be one which fully realizes the unique experience accumulated in this sphere during the time of Soviet power. One which does so in a conscious and purposeful manner, not fearing accusations of leveling, but not running to populist extremes either. Talents must be well paid.

If we are able to master these four most important historical lessons, for which Russia has paid with immense suffering and great blood, we will be able to reunite the "red" ideal of social truth with the "white" ideal of nationally comprehended, spiritually substantiated statehood.

[Nikiforova] You often employ the concept of spirituality. In Russia it was traditionally linked with religion. At the same time Soviet statehood proclaimed itself to be militantly atheist. Are there not contradictions here? How serious is the claim that the problem of church-state relations represents bonds that we must loosen in order to revive great Russia?

[Zyuganov] First, we must be aware of precisely what we mean by great Russia. What I understand by these words is the Russian state, undoubtedly including all the territories on which Russians or Russian-speakers live. A state based on the indissoluble fraternal union of Great Russians, Little Russians [Ukrainians], and White Russians [Belarusians] and also of all tribes and ethnic groups that wish voluntarily to join such a union. I do not believe that its borders will differ substantially from those of the USSR.

In the spiritual sphere, obviously, such a state must be underpinned by the people's 1,000-year-old sacred shrines, whose historical custodian and repository, as is known, is the Orthodox Church. But, first, this certainly does not mean any infringement of other faiths, which have natural and deep historical roots among the peoples of Russia—Islam, for example.

Second, any pressure whatever in this intimate and deeply personal sphere of human convictions is, of course, inconceivable. It is not possible either to find faith or to lose faith to order.

Third, both the state and the church, regardless of their relations, must preserve internal freedom and mutual independence. Only in this case can the tremendous potential of their cooperation for the good of all of society be revealed in full.

[Nikiforova] Today anyone who feels like it argues about the good of society and the people. The "democrats" have made their political career out of these arguments. Now that their position is shaky and insecure, those who are a bit more clever are trying to bolster their ambitions by creating new parties. But, to be serious, the Russian Communist Party today remains the only really mass political organization, although the process of its development is not proceeding easily. What place will it be able to occupy in the future Russia?

[Zyuganov] We have lived through difficult times. But people learn from their mistakes. Now, I am sure, we will be able to approach an analysis of our past in an objective and balanced manner. The result of such an approach must be a fundamental, qualitative advance—I would even say a breakthrough in all spheres of party life, ranging from the ideological to the organizational. As a result of this breakthrough we will acquire a mass party and, at the same time a compact, competently managed party, ideologically and politically mobile, open to any constructive changes, but principled in the defense of the people's interests.

Just such a party will be able to really become the chief expresser of the national idea, the chief weapon of its embodiment in the social and state life of Russia, a center of consolidation of national liberation forces and their mainstay.

But, before speaking about the party's future, I must say a few words about its past. The thing is that virtually throughout the Soviet period of history there was not one but two parties in the USSR, and a dogged struggle was waged between them, which did not die down for a moment. The fact that they were formally united within the framework of a single organization does not alter the essence of the matter, for they had different ideologies, different aims, and different economic, political, and national priorities.

The first party may conventionally be called the "our country" party. Sholokhov and Korolev, Zhukov and Gagarin, Kurchatov and Stakhanov belonged to it. It also included the majority of ordinary managers and party apparatchiks, who toiled unfailingly during very difficult days for the country. Most importantly, precisely this party was joined by fighters in their thousands on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War, and millions of patriotic working people who turned the country from ashes into the world's greatest power belonged precisely to it. For all of them the USSR, as Russia's historical heir, was the fatherland, beloved, near and dear—in short, our country. We acknowledge ourselves to be the successors of that party.

But there was also another party in the Soviet Union—the "this country" party. Numerically it bore no comparison with the first, but its political weight and influence in the top echelons of power were disproportionately huge and frequently decisive. It included those for whom "this country" and "these people" constituted merely an arena for realizing their inordinate, vainglorious ambitions and power-loving desires and a test bed for adventurous social experiments. This was the party of Trotskiy and Kaganovich, Beria and Mekhlis, Gorbachev and Yeltsin, Yakovlev and Shevardnadze. We do not wish to have anything in common with that party.

Now about our prospects. The situation in Russia today can be described most briefly and accurately with the word "disintegration." Everything is disintegrating before our eyes. The country's state unity has been destroyed. In addition, even the internal unity of state power and of the very system of state management has been destroyed, the latter having been split artificially into three supposedly "independent" branches, which have been subtly pitted against each other.

There is more to come. The unity of society has been destroyed—the unity which was the mainstay of state power and which in turn ensures the country's territorial integrity and security.

So this process of collapse, which has strong external stimulants and will continue as if of its own volition, will not stop until it has totally destroyed Russia. It must be stopped by force. The unification of all sober-minded patriotic movements and organizations must be such a political force. But, for this unification to proceed successfully, what is needed is an active and organized nucleus, around which structures opposed to collapse will crystallize. Our renewed party can and must become such a nucleus.

I am a member of just such a party—the "our country" party, the party of great Russia, the party of building a sovereign power!

Solzhenitsyn To Return Next Spring

LD1409154993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn will return to Russia next spring, as he had planned. The writer has made no statements indicating that this date can be changed, according to Yelena Chukovskaya, Solzhenitsyn's trustee. An RIA correspondent turned to her in connection with a report by the POSEV-INFORM information service, which stated that the writer would arrive in Russia this October.

Military & Space Issues

Yeltsin To Watch Spetnaz Force Exercise

LD1509082093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0805 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin keeps his promise to spend one day every month in the Armed Forces and will visit thursday [16 September] a fomrer KGB Division situated in the Moscow Region.

The division created 69 years ago is still named after the founder of the KGB, Felix Dzherzhinsky, but now belongs to the Interior Ministry and boasts a major crack force which is used to extinguish interethnic conflicts and fight major crimes.

The Spetsnaz force nicknamed "Crimson Berets" will show its skills to the president during an exercise held "in conditions close to extreme one".

Commander of the Russian Interior Troops Anatoliy Kulikov told TASS he expects the president to help solve the problems faced by the troops of late.

Conscription Problems Discussed

LD1409230593

[Editorial report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1745 GMT on 14 September carries a 40-minute "Theme" program in which Aleksey Yuryevich Tsarev, chairman of the Subcommittee for the Armed Forces of the Committee of the Supreme Soviet for Defence and Security, and Dmitriy Ukhlin, correspondent of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, answer the unidentified anchorman's questions about the army.

Asked how many conscripts should have been called up for the spring draft and how many were in fact drafted, Tsarev says the requirement was about 1.3 million but in fact it was only possible to draft 170,000.

An unidentified voice, accompanied by film of army life, says Russia has about 2 million potential conscripts, but owing to deferment and limitations only 300,000 are liable for the draft. This autumn at best 140,000 conscripts will report for the draft. The Ministry of Defense proposes reducing the list of disabilities exempting a person from military service and also abolishing deferment for students.

Tsarev is asked what the strength of the armed forces should be, taking into consideration the reforms. He says that by 1995 the strength of the armed forces should be over 1.5 million. There will be about 900,000 soldiers and sergeants, of whom half will be on contract and half conscripted. The problem is that we have left to us a considerable part of the Soviet Army and a sizeable conscripted contingent remains in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. Today Russia cannot maintain its armed forces from the conscripted contingent.

Asked how many people evade military service, Tsarev says the figure is 20,000 and in last autumn's draft it was 30,000. Ukhlin says it is much more—about 50 or 60 percent of all those who should serve in the army avoid service. He managed to defer it himself by acquiring a nervous complaint of unknown origin and later he was exempted for psychiatric reasons.

There follows a discussion of why people want to avoid military service, and interviews with soldiers who have gone AWOL. Opponents and supporters of conscription in the audience also air their views.

Military Recruitment Problems Listed

LD1409180893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1235 GMT 14 Sep 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondrusov]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Sep—There are over 150,000 contract servicemen in the Russian Army and Navy today, not enough to exert a notable influence on the manning of units and ships. Many more volunteers are needed.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin emphasized during his recent visit to troops of Moscow Military District that the army alone should have 300,000 contract servicemen by the end of next year. Commander of Russian Interior Troops Major General Anatoliy Kulikov maintains that interior troops' units and subunits need many more than 16,000 professionals. Border troops are planning to double the number of volunteers by the end of 1993, and reach the target of 18,000.

However, are these recruitment targets realistic? Experts of the Russian Army center for Military, Social Psychological, and Legal Research are not sure about this. Research conducted by the center has revealed that it is very difficult to attract to the army well-educated people who are physically and morally fit. For instance, only 8 percent of volunteers have higher education. First results of contracting servicemen have shown that many of those who come to units and subunits are opportunists, for whom the army service is a stop-gap but not a part of their life and their future plans. About 4,000 contract servicemen have already left their units and subunits. The reason for their early dismissal is their low level of military discipline and professionalism and poor morals. The center's experts maintain that only clear-cut legislation and much higher standards of material, social, and living conditions and procurement will solve this problem. Otherwise the process of manning the units with contract servicemen will take quite a long time.

Moral, Psychological Condition of Fleet Viewed

WS1509080993 Kaliningrad STRAZH BALTIKI in Russian 7 Sep 93 p 2

[Article by Captain S. Kusay, senior officer in the Military and Sociological Department at the Administration of Work With Baltic Fleet Personnel: "Legal Protection for a Homeland Defender"]

[Text] The complicated social and economic situation in the country has inevitably reflected on its Armed Forces. Erosion of old moral principles and the legal foundation of military service, as well as discontent over living standards and low social status, have had a negative effect on the attitude of fleet staff toward their soldier duties, which has resulted in growing social apathy and deteriorating work ethics. The adoption of a legal military package and salary increases for the servicemen has halted this destructive process. The question is: For how long?

At present, the moral and psychological condition of the fleet's personnel can be described as temporizing. A telltale sign is the attitude of officers toward the service. Sociological studies have revealed that only one out of five officers firmly intends to pursue a career with the military. The rest of the respondents believe in the changes taking place, but are ready to leave the force if a "chance came along to make a better living." This is why the fragile stabilization may prove only temporary if the primary problems, which have a profound impact on servicemen's morale, are not resolved as soon as possible. Almost 100 percent of the officers and warrant officers are not satisfied with the level of legal protection. With failed hopes and certain laws having not been implemented, psychological tension is growing, resulting in a lack of confidence in the government and respect for the law. These problems have become particularly acute in units withdrawing from the Baltics.

Psychological conditions within the ranks are characterized by negative attitudes toward military service. In their opinion, no real military threat to Russia exists, the service is despised by society and is not encouraged either financially or morally. Draft-dodging and soldiers being absent without leave are not condemned by public opinion, and sometimes even cheered among young people. Many say that their peers who evaded military service are not wasting their time and are making money in business activities.

Putting military service on a contract basis seems to be the solution to this urgent problem. Incidentally, this process is successfully continuing in the Baltic Fleet. Many servicemen have already signed contracts and an estimated 4,000 individuals are ready to do the same in the future.

Beside the financial expenditures and administrative work, contract service calls for the creation of an entirely new system of official relations. The study of motives that prompted a sailor or petty officer to sign a contract showed that material incentive is an important but not always dominant factor. Many respondents hope to receive more independence and freedom from duty. Growing physical and psychological strains within the service will call for the creation of necessary conditions for rest and psychological relief—outside the unit, as well.

The assessment of the soldiers' combat readiness is one of the main and most reliable indications of their morale. Some 68 percent of surveyed servicemen are convinced that their unit is capable of executing all its objectives, while 32 percent had no such conviction. More than 70 percent of the officers are happy with their professional activities. Nevertheless, 75 percent of officers and warrant officers pointed to deficient logistics support and the engaging of personnel in off-duty economic activities as leading problems resulting in reduced combat readiness.

Restrictions in military training, especially for sailors and pilots, have resulted in personnel insufficiently skilled to operate technical equipment. It is completely obvious that economic troubles not only reduce readiness but also demoralize servicemen. Even though the majority of respondents are satisfied with the present official relations and have confidence in military management, this system and the commanders are working under excessive strain. They are the ones who must assume the main burden of the transition period. Under these conditions, personal qualities became vital for management skills. Only thanks to their personal qualities and authority can commanders cushion pressure exerted by the social and political situation in the country and society.

Particularly alarming has become the ever-increasing number of individuals with biased behavior and low adaptation capabilities. As a rule, these people are emotionally and intellectually disturbed and their psychological development is retarded. The problem is that although they appear quite normal in civilian life, they prove incapable of adjusting themselves to military conditions. It is this kind of serviceman that is liable to leave a unit without permission and commit a suicide or crime. Unfortunately, this category of people defies any treatment or correction. It will take a separate and profound study to solve this problem.

Production at 'Top-Secret' Missile Plant Detailed

PM1409141793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0735 GMT 12 Sep 93

[From the Moscow Air Show; from the "Poligon" program]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] How much money, energy, and lives were lost to safeguard the secrets of the aerospace complex?

I will now name a top-secret plant where missiles are produced. It is the "Polet" Production Association in Omsk, Siberia. It has a work force of 20,000. It produces strategic SS-3 and SS-4 missiles. The design bureau has 1,000 staff. And I could go on. The potential of this production association equals the potential of an entire industrially developed country. I am not not giving away any state secrets. All this can be learned at the Moscow Aerospace show. The Omsk plant is openly offering its services. This is the only way to survive today.

It is interesting to note that in 1941 prisoners [zeki], the future Academicians Tupolev and Korolev, were working at the plant. Yak and Tu-2 aircraft were produced here for the front.

However, the concerns of today's specialists are different.

[V.I. Gorlov, commercial director of the "Polet" Production Association Design Bureau] It was different when you were told what to do with no thought for the cost... I am referring to the Buran program, and so on, in which we also took part. We produced the propulsion unit for the first stage of the Buran [as heard]. It was a very expensive unit. Well, we produced it, and suddenly it

was no longer needed because the program was halted, of course. The plant was left high and dry, as series production had been organized, involving a large number of jobs in the production of this propulsion unit. Unfortunately, this program was suspended. No one gave any thought to how many tasks were involved in this program. We have now switched to programs which are needed throughout the world. I am referring to navigation and tracking satellite systems, and such like, and communication systems. Currently were are working on the next "Kurs" system which will determine the location of moving sytems in real time. It will monitor the progress of dangerous cargoes, for example during the transportation of warheads from one location to another. After all, this has to be closely monitored. Our systems make this possible. The first satellite will be launched within the current year.

[Correspondent] Will this be a very expensive system?

[Gorlov] It will be a very cheap system. After all, we are developing nothing from scratch. We are making use of our developments for military purposes and adapting them for national economic uses, making technological changes where necessary. There is no question about this. Thanks to this we manage to survive. This is because we are not having to start from scratch.

'Albatross' Amphibious Aircraft Described

LD1409125093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] We are still waiting to be gladdened by the success of our defense industry on the world market in the future, but we can be proud of an example of unique military technology created by that industry right now. The British RAF [Royal Air Force] intends to buy 25 A-40 amphibious combat aircraft from the Taganrog aviation scientific-technological complex. This is unprecedented; never before has a NATO member purchased military technology from an opposing country, even recently. Over to our correspondent Vladimir Belov.

[Belov] The A-40 aircraft, or the Albatross, as it is known, was created at the famous Beriyev design bureau in Taganrog. Having visited the enterprises where this machine was being created, American Professor (Daniel Savitskiy), a recognized authority in hydrodynamics, called the A-40 hydrodynamic perfection. The Americans have also inquired about the Albatross, as they have nothing like an amphibious turbojet aircraft. No one in the world has anything like it.

It should be said that at the end of the 1950's the United States conducted experiments to develop a similar flying machine. The project was also called the Albatross, but after two accidents in crossing the hydrodynamic barrier the work was abandoned and has not been taken up again.

The Taganrog designers started a remarkable aircraft. The Albatross has unique combat potential. it is not just a flying boat, but a military submarine-hunter aircraft. These aircraft have a range of 2,000 km over the sea from their native shores. They can hold their station in the air for five to eight hours over the proposed area of operation of a nuclear submarine, land on the water, listen to underwater noise, and carry out other search operations. The Albatross is armed with air-launched antisubmarine missiles [raketa tipa vozdukh-voda], torpedoes, mines, depth charges, and much else, enabling it to tackle complex combat missions. It is also capable of reliably rebuffing attacks from fighters.

Moreover, this unique machine can be used for more than just combat tasks. At the microphone is chief designer Gennadiy Panatov.

[Begin Panatov recording] This is a multipurpose aircraft that comes in various versions, including a passenger version. First and foremost, the version that is being made now is a rescue version of this aircraft, which can carry out rescue operations in practically any region of the world's oceans. The aircraft can refuel in midair. [end recording]

Economic Issues

Finance Ministry Proposes Measures To Reduce Deficit

LD1409173693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1521 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By BUSINESS-TASS]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—The Russian Finance Ministry worked out a package of measures to decrease the budget deficit and curtail inflation, however a deputy minister doubts that all the measures will be approved.

One of the major decisions formulated in a draft presidential decree cancels some 20 government resolutions which increase the budget deficit by 2.5 trillion roubles, Deputy Finance Minister Sergey Aleksashenko told TASS Tuesday. Besides, state expenses in the last quarter of the year are to be cut to curb inflation. Local authorities have to reevaluate property which will allow to increase budget revenues. Money printing is to go down thanks to using free finances from non-budget funds for byuing state securities. A one-month amnesty is to be announced for tax dodgers who are to declare all non-taxed profits without paying any fines. Stamp duties and taxes on TV sets are also planned.

But Aleksashenko fears that the measures will not pass because of the current balance of forces in the government and also because some of the measures are to be approved by parliament.

Ministry, Parliament Debate Budget Deficit

MK1409123493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 52, 14 Sep 93 (Signed to Press 13 Sep) p 3

[Unattributed report: "Ceilings on Credit Resources Under Discussion in Russian Parliament"]

[Text] Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Planning and Budgetary Commission, said that parliament "is unlikely to object" to the Central Bank's granting a credit of 5 trillion rubles [R] to the government to finance the budget deficit in the fourth quarter. In this event, given that at the beginning of September the deficit was R6.5 trillion, the overall budget deficit by the end of 1993, according to Finance Ministry experts' estimates, will not exceed R12 trillion (currently the Supreme Soviet insists on passing a budget with a deficit of R26 trillion, including 20 trillion for the fourth quarter of 1993). A high-ranking Finance Ministry official said, however, that this "reassuring" statement, which gives the Finance Ministry the hope that the deficit can be kept within "acceptable limits," may only be feasible if the government implements a significant part of Boris Fedorov's proposals for cutting budget expenditures.

Chernomyrdin Allocates Funds for Disaster Areas

LD1509095693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin, head of the Russian Council of Ministers, has signed a number of orders on nonreturnable allocations of funds from the government reserve fund to eliminate the consequences of emergency situations. This has been reported by ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI. In particular, farmers in Kalmykia have been allocated 320 million rubles to overcome the consequences of spring floods. More than 830 million rubles were given to Omsk Oblast, which was also hit by nature last April.

August Inflation Hits 29 Percent

MK1409122693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 52, 14 Sep 93 (Signed to Press 13 Sep) p 3

[Unattributed report: "Inflation Rate Reached a Record High in August"]

[Text] According to the Russian Federation Government's Economic Situation Center, Russia's inflation rate was 29 percent in August, a 4.8-fold increase since the beginning of the year (the previous record was 28.9 percent in February). The center's experts believe that inflationary processes in August were affected by the rise in electric power prices. At the same time, according to the center's estimate, the level of consumer prices in Russia was 21.5 percent of the corresponding U.S. level. The monthly cost of 19 staple food stuffs as of the end of August was 18,300 rubles. If conditions remain unchanged, the center forecasts, in September the price level will amount to between 17 and 20 percent of the inflation rate, and to between 15 and 17 percent in October.

Legal Curbs on Wage Differences Urged

PM1409161193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 93 First Edition p 8

[Irina Ovchinnikova article: "It Is Immoral To Receive a Wage That Is 30 Times the Average Wage"]

[Excerpts] Can you imagine the wage of an enterprise director being 30 times the average wage? [passage omitted]

But here is an indisputable fact: The salary of the director of a motor vehicle plant, where the average wage is 100,000 rubles [R], is R3 million. Neither more nor less. The person from whom I learned this vouches for the reliability of the information about the director's wage. But I still doubted it and rang the Labor Remuneration and Motivation Administration of the ministry called the Ministry of Labor. Just imagine, no one there was at all surprised. "It is all correct," they explained to me. "For state enterprises we have recommended no more than a fivefold difference between the average wage and the highest wage. But the plant about which you are asking has had a share flotation, and our recommendations do not extend to it." [passage omitted]

It seems to me that, if there are no restraining centers functioning—whether you call them conscience or a sense of self-preservation—then some restrictions laid down by law are needed. At least while definite moral self-regulators are drawn up and become established.

Agriculture Expert Comments on Grain Harvest, Prices

WS1409090093 Kaliningrad KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 93 pp 1,2

[Interview with Andrey Sizov, general manager of the SovEkon stock company, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Russians Will Have Enough Bread, But Price Per Loaf Will at Least Double"]

[Text] [Reporter] First, a traditional question: "What is the outlook for this year's crops?"

[Sizov] Vice Prime Minister Aleksandr Zaverukha has recently spoken of 120 to 125 million tonnes, which astounded not only foreign experts but also Russian farmers, because this would be a record in Russian history. The highest crop ever harvested in Russia was 116.6 million tonnes, net weight, in 1990. However, the vice premier did not specify whether he meant net weight or bunker weight. In that case, after subtracting the appropriate 8 percent, we would harvest about 110 million tonnes.

Our calculations, which are based on weekly progress reports on harvesting, thrashed areas, gross production, and yield, give a more moderate forecast of 106 to 108 million tonnes (in this case and later—net weight). This is approximately the same as last year's level (106.7 million). However, the final figure might turn out to be even lower. The point is that both sowing and harvesting of grain in Russia this year, started later than usual. For reaching last year's level, the campaign should be accelerated. However, this cannot be done with our lack of equipment, spare parts, and fuel. This year, we set about harvesting with the lowest-ever level of preparedness. As of 1 July, forced idle time of equipment was 30 percent, compared to 20 to 22 percent in previous years. This is natural, because higher prices for equipment have made replacement prohibitive. A similar situation has developed with regard to fuel supplies.

Then, there was another negative factor—bad weather. Heavy rainfall first made crops grow high and then became an obstacle—the crops were battered down and thus require more labor in harvesting. As a result of this, according to our calculations, grain losses will be higher than usual and the final crop will be about 103 to 105 million tonnes.

[Reporter] Does this mean that rumors about a bumper crop have been exaggerated?

[Sizov] Not exactly. Some 105 million tonnes is still a good crop. Please, remember that for the consumer, the primary fact is not how much is gathered but how much is purchased by the state from farmers and abroad.

The system of grain purchases is completely different this year. Earlier, all grain, including imported grain, was purchased centrally and then shipped to the provinces. Now, there exist two kinds of reserves—federal and regional. The former are meant to meet the demand of large cities, areas poor in grain (in the north and far east), and special contingents of population, including the Army. Regional reserves consist of grain purchased by appropriate organizations in the provinces and abroad.

Federal reserves are supposed to accumulate about 30 million tonnes (11.8 million from domestic purchases and 18.2 from imports). The regions are going to accumulate about 30 million tonnes. The producers will keep the rest of the harvest for their needs—feeding cattle, sowing, and so on.

Forecasts are optimistic regarding crops, however there is still the problem of purchases. The problem of purchase prices is in the spotlight of attention. There were long negotiations among producers, grain consumers, and the government. In June, the sides agreed on a price of 60,000 rubles [R] per tonne. Since then, the price has been indexed and has risen at least 10 percent every month, reaching R70,000 to R100,000 per tonne of grain depending on its quality. All in all, some R4 trillion are needed for grain purchases.

In the peak of the campaign, the Roskhleboprodukt—the principal organization responsible for purchases—needs about R500 million a week. It is currently receiving only half that sum. Thus far, some 8.7 million tonnes of grain have been purchased—more than 5 million for federal reserves and the rest for regional reserves, which are considered less important. Thus, it might happen that the plan of deliveries to the regional reserves will go unfulfilled, not for a lack of grain but for a lack of money.

[Reporter] Thus, the producers will keep excess grain. What will they do with it?

[Sizov] They will discontinue their cooperation with local purchasing organizations and direct excess grain to the stock exchange. The current situation is paradoxical—prices at the stock exchange are lower than state purchase prices and, due to this, producers prefer to cooperate with the state....

[Reporter] ...and complain about repeated nonpayment.

[Sizov] Thus far, the state has purchased R750 billion worth of grain and paid R625 billion. However, these figures change every day. If the state's debt continues to grow, producers' trust in the state will continue to diminish, and stock exchange trading will be vivified.

In other words, there is enough grain in Russia and everything will depend on the progress of purchasing, that is, on the financial abilities of the state. However, the lack of money is not a purely agricultural problem, but more of a general one.

[Reporter] What about imports? There are rumors that they will be curbed.

[Sizov] As of 1 July, Russia imported 8.1 million tonnes of grain—40 to 45 percent less than during the first half of 1992. In July, imports were very insignificant—200,000 to 250,000 tonnes, while the capacity of Russian ports permits the unloading of 2 to 2.5 million tonnes a month.

There have been a lot of loud statements, including the statement by Viktor Chernomyrdin, that we will import to 5 to 7 million tonnes of grain. However, this is rather unlikely. If we want to protect our livestock and poultry breeding we will need corn and soya, while domestic production of corn is only 2 to 2.5 million tonnes and everything depends on import. We have been receiving grain on credit and we have obligations toward our foreign partners. The U.S. loan received in April 1993 envisages shipment of 230,000 tonnes of corn on advantageous terms. Why should we reject this?

However, import purchases will have to be reduced to 14 million tonnes, while in 1992, they equaled 24 million.

[Reporter] Yet, there is grain in neighboring states, for instance, Kazakhstan....

[Sizov] Yes, and they have harvested big crops this year. Kazakhstan's export resources can be as high as 8 to 9

million tonnes. Besides, Kazakhstan is Russia's debtor and it has nothing else to offer but its grain. Thus, even if our domestic purchases fail, we will receive grain from Kazakhstan.

[Reporter] How will this influence retail prices?

[Sizov] Retail prices will have grown twofold by the end of this year. Unfortunately, this is an inevitable process. See for yourself: Before 16 August 1993, the price at which processing industries bought grain was R12,000 per tonne; today, it is R24,000 per tonne, and it will have reached R55,000 by 1 October. The price will have quadrupled within three months, although these prices are regulated by the state and are lower than the original purchase price. Despite this regulation, the price of bread is bound to swell. The government envisions additional allowances for people with limited means.

[Reporter] Let us go back to the issue of a comparatively rich harvest in 1993. What caused it—favorable weather or changes in the agrarian sector?

[Sizov] These changes are too feeble to stimulate production. Supplies for farmers are even worse than in 1992. Our industries are producing less fertilizer, pesticides, and herbicides. Thus, the weather remains the basic factor. There was no drought, this is what counts. Aside from the weather, the only other thing that stimulates the production of grain is a change in the balance of prices. Grain production is the leader in this competition, its profitability reaching 400 to 500 percent. This is one of the reasons that sowing areas used for the production of grain have reduced only about 3 percent. The situation is much worse regarding other crops, including potatoes. In animal husbandry, the reduction in livestock has been much higher.

[Reporter] Thus, market mechanisms somehow work?

[Sizov] I would not say this. The price policy is not determined by current demand but is dictated by the state. In this case, producers of grain rocketed the prices and literally took the government by the throat saying: "Either you increase purchase prices or there will be no deliveries." The market has nothing to do with this.

[Reporter] Does this mean that as a result of lobbying we may not have potatoes?

[Sizov] The structure of sowing may change. Production of grain might become profitable, even in those areas that lack necessary conditions for this—in Novgorod or Pskov Oblasts. In this case, our resources would be used inefficiently—instead of raising dairy cattle there, farmers would be sowing rye and wheat, gather pitiful crops and still reap profits, given the prices dictated by the lobby and not by the market. To put it simply—if a kilogram of bananas cost R100,000, people would be raising them in glass houses in Murmansk.

Under the current circumstances, the consumer will lose, anyway. Prices for grain will influence prices for many other products. Thus, a successful purchasing campaign can cause a new spin of inflation.

[Reporter] My last question concerns the key of your pessimistic forecast. There are rumors that officials responsible for grain imports embezzle money by taking advantage of the differences between world prices and Russian purchase prices. What can you say about this?

[Sizov] These rumors are absolutely unsubstantiated. Over the last three years, the Eksportkhleb has not conducted cash operations. Grain is being bought on credit, the state is paying for it, and no officials have access to cash.

Farmers 'Not in a Hurry' To Sell Grain

LD1409125493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1214 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alexei Filatov]

[Text] Moscow Sepember 14 TASS—Russian grain-growers had thrashed [as received] crops from one half of all sewn [as received] areas by the early September, according to the State Statistic Committee. Although this year's yield is higher than last year's (equalling 22.8 metric centners from hectare as against 21.7 metric centners by this time last year) and a total of 61.5 million tons of grain have already been thrashed and prepared for storage in Russia, most farmers are not in a hurry to sell the grain.

They are waiting for prices to go up to get good profits, which would allow them to pay the exorbitant prices for the fuel, spare parts and other technical means.

Meanwhile, a difficult situation has emerged in the potato and vegetable fields. Harvesting has just begun there, and specialists fear crops can perish.

Residents of cities are anxious too: in big industrial centres, such as St. Petersburg and Yekaterinburg, vegetable stores are almost empty.

Regional Affairs

Shakhray Advocates 'Minor Constitution'

LD1409132993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1204 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Khotz]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk September 14 TASS—Sergey Shakhray, the vice-premier of the Russian Government currently on a visit to Krasnoyarsk, has advocated the idea of adopting "a minor constitution" during a meeting with representatives of the public in Krasnoyarsk on Tuesday.

Shakhray admitted that the new phrase was formulated in Krasnoyarsk not accidentally. The meeting focused on relationship between the centre and regions. Local

authorities voiced much criticism about the activities of federal bodies. Shakhray said that signs of separatism and the desire of districts and regions to raise their status to the level of republics was the subject of concern for politicians who believe that their task is to preserve Russia's integrity.

In a minor constitution, it is possible to leave out contentious issues on the national and state systems in Russia, reserving only those provisions in this part which exist today. Later in the day, the vice-premier of the Russian Government will leave for moscow.

North Ossetian Demands for Normalizing Situation

LD1409162493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1532 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz September 14 TASS—North Ossetian Parliament Speaker Akhsarbek Galazov left for Moscow today to discuss the regional situation at a meeting of the Russian Security Council on Wednesday.

"We will proceed from opinion of the multi-national population of North Ossetia, according to which it is impossible to normalize the situation in the Prigorodny region without

- Recognition of an attempt of forced seizure of part of North Ossetian territory,

- Bringing to criminal responsibility [as received] of organizers and participants in the bloody tragedy of late 1992,

- Termination of terrorist acts against republican civilians, Russian peace-makers and the local law-enforcement bodies," said Galazov.

The North Ossetian leader is accompanied by Secretary of the North Ossetian Security Council Major General Aleksandr Khodov and Acting Head of the Temporary Administration Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin.

A group of North Ossetian parliament deputies left for Moscow today to attend a meeting of the Russian Constitutional Court to consider on Thursday the constitutionality of North Ossetian parliament resolutions on refugees.

Tatarstan Not Planning To Join Federation Council

LD1409221093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] According to Tatarstan Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev, his republic does not intend to join the federation council and become limited to the role of an observer. For its part, Kazan has proposed to introduce amendments to article 2 of the resolution on the federation council, which stipulates that a bilateral treaty could possibly be a mechanism for regulating relations between the center and the republic.

Kaliningrad Chairman on Current Situation

WS1509100093 Kaliningrad KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 93 pp 1,2

[Interview with Y. Matochkin, chairman of the Kaliningrad Oblast Soviet, by B. Nisnevich; place and date not given: "We Are an Integral Part of Russia"]

[Text] [Nisnevich] The oblast administration has been paying a lot of attention lately to finding new directions for foreign economic activities, particularly in Scandinavia. After contacts with Denmark, there were meetings with the Swedes. How will this cooperation develop? Are there any tangible effects?

[Matochkin] Our task is to obtain access to government circles and large companies, and then give an impetus to enterprises and companies for establishing direct contacts. This system already works in our relations with Poland and Germany. We are currently working with Denmark and Sweden.

The "ABB" concern is ready to cooperate with the Railroad Car Factory to produce electric forklifts and to participate in the reconstruction of Heat and Power Plant No. 2 and the Bummash Plant. Electrolux has proposals to manufacture railroad cars and is planning to sell refrigerator subassemblies in the oblast, build a vacuum-cleaner factory, and cooperate with Kaliningrad enterprises in producing spare parts for these goods.

Swedish Telecom has an interesting plan to build a network of small telephone stations and a small factory for the production of small portable telephones.

The world-renowned Volvo company is currently curbing its sales in Sweden and expanding them in Russia. They sold 4,700 cars in Russia in 1992. They want to establish a dealership in Kaliningrad, build an assembly plant, and open a service center. During the preliminary stage, chassis and engines could be shipped from Sweden while the bodies are produced in Kaliningrad, including those for gas-powered buses. Volvo can use our seaports for shipping its cars to Ukraine and Belarus.

[Nisnevich] What were the reasons for your participation in the talks between Presidents Yeltsin and Walesa in Poland? Did you manage to obtain anything for the oblast?

[Matochkin] That was a scheduled political visit. The interests of Kaliningrad Oblast were very relevant in the context of talks that would have been incomplete without their discussion.

We had to draw attention to very weak efforts in building a highway and to the necessity of constructing an offshoot of the Russia-Poland pipeline. Kaliningrad-related issues were reflected in two documents—the declaration signed by the two presidents, stating that the oblast is a good example of regional cooperation with Polish voivodships, and the agreement on building the pipeline, which will cross through the oblast.

I want to emphasize that Poland displayed interest in the development, or rather restoration, of trade contacts with Russia. There were suggestions to exchange lists of goods that the two countries can offer one another.

[Nisnevich] Let us go back to the native land. How were the problems of our region resolved in August?

[Matochkin] The situation is complex, like elsewhere. We are continuing to resolve the problems of agriculture, housing construction, and the supply of consumer goods. Today, the most acute problems are those of preparing for winter and assisting agriculture. We have earmarked 50 million rubles [R] for creating an emergency store of equipment, R147 million for purchasing industrial fuel, and R400 million to the city council for replacing pipelines and purchasing fuel and coal. The problem is that the price of coal is R41,000 [unit not specified], while for the people it is R1,000. We are to compensate for this gap. Taking into account that people need 50,000 tonnes of coal, some R6 billion will be spent on this operation.

The second issue is agriculture. August was a difficult month; the situation resembled 1978. We have grown good crops, however, the weather spoiled everything. Unfortunately, we have failed to fulfill the planned production of hay. Now, we must concentrate on harvesting potatoes, despite unfavorable weather conditions.

We have problems protecting our market. The flow of foodstuffs from abroad makes goods manufactured in the oblast noncompetitive. Thus, to protect the market, we must stimulate our producers. We are working on this.

We will have enough meat and butter in the winter; there was no price hike in August. A positive role was played in this regard by the committee for prices and the Department of the Interior. The latter revealed groups that were blocking producers from entering the market.

[Nisnevich] Of course, resolutions are necessary, but, to be frank, I have a feeling that they are not efficiently supervised. When you go outside, you can see hideous debris of the street trading, meet some very charismatic individuals... And all this is happening next to the Russian flag flying over the municipal building and the militia offices.

[Matochkin] This is the issue I have repeatedly addressed—a demarcation between oblast and city authorities' duties. City authorities operate by virtue of Law on Municipal Administration. We do not have the right to interfere, to chase away all kind of offenders. But we will settle accounts with them. For example, we will send our representative to investigate the situation of bread supplies. Though it is our responsibility to provide satisfactory quantities, nevertheless it is the City Council's duty to organize trade.

I agree that the control system is not comprehensive, however we are introducing it. For example, according to the last quarter results, 15 people did not receive up to 30 percent of their premium bonus.

I think that another fault is that we have not taken advantage of one of paragraphs in the "On Oblast Administration and Soviet" decree, which states that we are entitled to incriminate any official for failing to fulfill his duty.

[Nisnevich] Recently, facts testifying to corruption at levels of authority have become well-known. Is there any evidence that there are attempts to establish some mafia structures in our oblast?

[Matochkin] According to the Interior Affairs Administration and Ministry of Security data, no such structures have been detected in our oblast. If anybody reports to me that an administration official has been involved in illegal activities, I will fire that person immediately.

There are no conditions in our oblast for the mafia to spread out its tentacles. We are carefully selecting candidates for key offices, taking into account the opinion of public organizations. Although there are attempts to recommend somebody's friends, first of all, we base our judgments upon professional qualifications.

Nonetheless, I have only said what kind of data we are receiving and on what basis we are selecting people. I can answer only for the leadership. It is hard to guarantee the "lower layers," but anyway, cases of corruption are quite sporadic.

[Nisnevich] Many rumors have spread following the resignation of your adviser, Gennadiy Polishchuk. What can you say about this today?

[Matochkin] For the time being, only that he has tendered his resignation. Concerning the local press reports of "law enforcement authorities' claims against him," I can only say that they are not connected with his official duties. If they are justified, he will have to bear all responsibility for his deeds, like any other person.

[Nisnevich] On to our last question. The newspaper PRAVDA reported on 20 August that you are advocating some kind of East Prussian autonomy. Can you explain that?

[Matochkin] PRAVDA lost its credibility a long time ago. Because of that, I am not surprised that it reprinted this fabrication from one of the Polish newspapers. It is following its strategic doctrine—to sting a head of administration—Mr. Matochkin or anybody else. What counts, it is to shake the executive branch, for it is connected with the president.

Actually, I have never made such a statement. Of course, we will receive this Polish publication through diplomatic channels... That is, if it really exists.

Somebody is apparently interested in exaggerating this East Prussia republic issue. I have expressed my opinion many times. Nowadays, when different geopolitical models are being discussed all over Europe, when even certain acts of international law are being questioned and political maps redrawn, it is expedient to remember the

Potsdam Conference resolutions and the 1990 "2+4" negotiations, when historical German territories east of the Oder and Neman were excluded from the German state. In an agreement signed in accordance with international law, Germany relinquished any territorial claims.

We consider ourselves an integral part of the Russian state and an integral part of the Baltic region. Our strategic objective is not to orientate ourselves towards any particular country, but to cooperate with all countries of the Baltic region. This is precisely what we are doing and from where we begin our conversations.

Moscow, Kuban Criticize New Residence Law

PM1509092593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 93 First Edition p 3

[ITAR-TASS report from Moscow, Vladimir Udachin report from Krasnodar under rubric "Chronicle of the Time of Troubles": "Residence Permit Being Abolished. But This Could Prove Costly"]

[Text] The Law "On the Rights of Citizens of the Russian Federation to Freedom of Relocation and Choice of Place of Sojourn and Residence Within the Russian Federation" which has been adopted by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet goes into force 1 October. It has provoked a keen reaction among local authorities.

Moscow—At a news conference at Moscow City Hall 9 September the law was discussed by representatives of the authorities, officials, and also deputies from Moscow and the Russian Federation.

Sergey Dontsov, chief of the Moscow City Hall State and Law Administration, reported that this is yet another legal act which the Russian parliament has adopted in complete isolation from the president's legal administration. It was also a surprise to Moscow's representatives of authority. In essence and content the law is defective and has contradictions both internally and with other Russian laws.

In the opinion of Russian People's Deputy Anatoliy Yegorov, member of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legality, Law and Order, and the Fight Against Crime, who addressed the news conference, the enactment of this law should be delayed so as to coordinate all its provisions and consider an operational mechanism, especially with regard to the capital and possibly also other large cities and regions such as Krasnodar Kray, Rostov Oblast, and so forth.

According to Internal Affairs Main Administration information, the toughening of the registration procedure introduced in Moscow in March this year has had tangible results: 90,000 citizens have been detained for violation of the passport regime. The abolition of the residence permit will imperil the capital's life and activity.

Sergey Dontsov, answering questions from journalists, noted that the Moscow Government is forthright in its attitude toward the present interpretation of the law: "It is better for us to be punished for nonfulfillment of it rather than for us to punish Muscovites who will be hostages to this latest piece of parliamentary legislation." [ITAR-TASS report ends]

Krasnodar—Nikolay Yegorov, head of the kray administration, has made a statement on kray radio. He believes that the enactment of the law on 1 October 1993 is not in the interests of the Kuban people as Russian citizens and violates their constitutional rights. But the whole point is that as a result of the worsening of the situation in the Caucasus and other southern regions of the CIS the Kuban has been inundated by a flood of refugees and enforced migrants.

After North Ossetia—which, for well known reasons, accepted hundreds of thousands of refugees from South Ossetia—the Kuban holds second place in Russia in terms of migrant numbers. One migrant in 12 settles on the kray's territory.

Information on the flood of migrants is contradictory. According to official statistics there are now 130,000 people in the kray claiming the status of refugee or enforced migrant, 32,000 of them have already applied for that status to the migration service, and 12,000 have received it. But according to unofficial statistics there are now around 500,000 migrants in the kray.

Where have they come from? According to the kray statistical administration, 60 percent are from Georgia, including Abkhazia, 18 percent are from the Chechen Republic, 9.6 percent are from Tajikistan, and 8.7 percent are from Azerbaijan.

The flood of migrants is seriously complicating the kray's socioeconomic situation. House prices are being cranked up, competition for jobs is intensifying, and the burden on the social infrastructure is mounting, with the resultant tension in relations between the local population and the migrants.

The residence permit served as a barrier, albeit a small one, holding back the influx of refugees. But the new law, which changes the residence procedure from one of granting permission to one of merely submitting an application, deprives the organs of state power of their last opportunity to limit migration, in Nikolay Yegorov's opinion.

The head of the kray administration has put a proposal to the kray soviet's inner soviet to examine at its September session the question of suspending the operation of the law on the territory of Krasnodar Kray until additions and amendments to it stipulate a special procedure governing the right to residence in regions with a complex ethnosocial situation, such as the territories on Russia's borders. The inner soviet adopted this proposal that same day.

In addition, the head of the adminstration has petitioned the Russian president for Krasnodar Kray to be granted

the status of a border territory, conferring on the local organs of state power in the kray the right to adopt a special procedure governing sojourn and residence within its borders.

The statement contains a criticism of the Supreme Soviet and the president, who adopted the new law with rare unanimity, for ignoring the standpoint of individual components of the Federation.

Buryatia Leader on Bypassing of Constitutional Body

LD1409165193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1026 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov]

[Text] Ulan-Ude, 14 Sep—Leonid Potapov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Buryatia, has described the move in sending the draft of four sections of the basic law of the Republic of Buryatia for on-the-spot discussion, bypassing the Constitutional Commission, as an attempt to draw the different branches of power into political squabbles.

Moreover, in an exclusive interview to the ITAR-TASS correspondent, the head of the supreme legislative, representative, and executive body of the former autonomous entity stressed that "this move contravenes the provisions of Buryatia's existing constitution, and is therefore illegal." At the same time, he pointed out that the proposals elaborated within the walls of the Council of Ministers building merit study and all-round attention, but this needs to be done within the framework of the existing legislation, before which all are equal. Otherwise, the situation as regards the adoption of Buryatia's new constitution could lead "to confrontation and to the aggravation of the sociopolitical situation in the republic."

Government's Regional Policy Criticized

PM1409134593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 11 Sep 93 p 1

[Andrey Kolesnikov article under "Opinion" rubric: "Hostages of the Interests of the Regions. The Reforms and the Russian People Have Found Themselves in That Role"]

[Text] The central authorities are trying to ingratiate themselves with the regions. That is the logic of self-preservation: If you want to keep your jobs, satisfy the conditions dictated by the political elites of the territories. If the federal authorities continue slackening their grip on the control levers, the Federation Council will turn from a consultative-cum-deliberative body into a structure that is as antiparliamentary as it is antipresidential. You get the impression that each generation of Russian politicians learns only through its own experience—Gorbachev's doleful history and experience are not enough.

Until the center has finally sorted out its relations with the regions there can be no question of proper constitutional and economic reforms. But suppose regional leaders want to set up in Russia a regime of ancient oriental despotism, and the Constitution becomes altogether unnecessary? The leader of Tuva has tried to make changes to the Criminal Code and punish not just murderers but their...relations. In the Far East they have managed to halt privatization.

The logic of liberal economic reform is itself capable of spurring the Russian territories on toward integration. The president, for whom both the constitutional and federal processes have become, as it were, a self-sufficient means for combating parliament, does not seem to be unaware of this. To this end he is ready to flirt with the regions to the verge of dishonesty [na grani fola], failing to notice that real rather than imaginary power is rapidly slipping out of his hands. The Supreme Soviet, however, for purely ideological reasons, will never understand that it is senseless and dangerous to play off legislative authority against administrative authority in the regions and that you can no longer run the territories by administrative methods exploiting the enigmatic populist chimera dubbed the "socially oriented market economy"—the market is unsteady on its feet but it is coming into its own no matter how parliament opposes the liberal reforms.

On the other hand, the notions of the market held by certain leaders of Federation components are still almost Neanderthal. That is understandable—genuine market relations denationalize their separatist policy and undermine their seemingly sound sovereignty based almost exclsuively on raw materials. It is far more agreeable to be the individual owner of them. So the fate of the market reforms depends to a large extent on the regional bosses' attitude toward them. And that, as we know, is not always positive.

Some major political leaders at the federal level have long sensed this: Your political career has to be built upon flirting with the regions rather than abstract neoliberal ideals. It would be a good thing in so doing also to "deideologize" your activity to the maximum and to have a sound reputation as a "pink" centrist opposed to shock therapy. Nor is it any bad thing to organize a party that reflects the interests of the regions. Russia, it should be noted, is the sole country where, against a background of miniature party formations, major but completely unregistered "war parties" and "parties of the regions" can exist whose aim is not to represent any specific interests but to engage in a shameless power struggle using the most crude but—in conditions of economic crisis—extremely effective populism.

In formal terms, the interests of the regions are protected by the PRYeS [Party of Russian Unity and Accord], Shakhray's party. It is still too early to talk about the extent and depth of its influence. From the informal standpoint, the Federation Council (we are talking about parliament as a special kind of "party" representing the

interests of counterreformists) could under certain conditions become the most influential "party of the regions." Finally, there is the "shadow" leader of the Russian territories, a "great silent figure" in the past but who today is someone who has extensively publicized his stereotypical socialist views to the point of tedium—Yuriy Skokov.

What goes to make up Skokov's "charisma"? First, it is the "centrism," that is to say, pragmatism, which is confirmed by the leadership of the Federation of Commodity Producers, that ideological alter ego of Volskiy's Industrial Party, which is now further confirmed by the creation of the "Accord for the Fatherland" public committee, within which you get participating, alongside other centrists of diverse pink and red hues (right up to the "claret-colored" D. Rogozin) the former secretary of the Security Council. Skokov enjoys real authority in the regions—the post of leader of the Center for Interregional and Interethnic Economic Problems. The interests of the Russian territories are diverse, and they are unlikely to be able to reach agreement on any single contender for the top state post from the "party of the regions". However, if accord is achieved, Yuriy Skokov could well become that contender.

It is a matter of anxiety that, for all the evident influence of the "party of the regions" in present-day Russian politics, there is not a single sign that this political force supports the liberal version of constitutional and economic reforms. The heated arguments between "Yavlinskiy supporters" and "Gaydar supporters" (the center-right bloc against the "Russia's Choice" bloc) over the forms and methods of privatization and other economic matters could simply prove to be to no avail. While the neoliberals are sorting out dfferences in a dispute which is essentially little understood by the broad working and idle masses, we could be witness to the creation of a Fifth International, which, like its predecessor, the Fourth International, will be not liberal but communist (at best, social democratic). The whole of our country—a Union of Sovereign Socially Oriented Regions—could become this international.

Bad Crime Situation Linked to 'Red Terror' Era

PM1509085993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 93 First Edition p 8

[Article by Mark Zakharov: "While Parliament Plays at Democracy, Muscovites Live as Though at War"]

[Excerpts] Criminal terror which is dreadful in its ever increasing brutality has come down upon the heads of Muscovites and many residents of major Russian cities.

Gripped in the vise of obsolete and imperfect legislation, the law-enforcement organs are slowly retreating, squeezed out by the superior forces of bandit formations. Street and highway robbery is becoming increasingly daring and bloody. According to various estimates, there are now up to 1 million citizens of foreign states in Moscow and oblast, and a considerable number of them commit illegal acts. [passage omitted]

I believe that what is needed in a transitional period from totalitarianism to democracy which is very difficult for the country is intimidatory laws, albeit temporary ones, which during the last months of the outgoing year can preserve the life and property of those people whom statistics have already virtually sentenced to impoverishment, death, or fanatical acts.

Until recently it seemed to me that these and other appeals do no more than rend the air. Although it has to be admitted that fearless and experienced specialists have appeared in the militia and the special-purpose milita detachment in recent months, something else is also true: After a brief detention, particularly powerful recidivists are increasingly frequently being released once again for "free hunting." For various reasons, to say the least.

But the determining circumstance in the defeat the Russian state is suffering in the struggle against the criminal world is the categorical reluctance of the Supreme Soviet to revise the "inoperative" Criminal Code and also to introduce special temporary laws reflecting the critical situation in which Russians who do not have state protection have ended up.

I repeat, I would not rend the air for the 100th time if it were not for the recent decisive actions of Lithuanian law-enforcement organs, which have won the first impressive victories over their bandits. In the pages of IZVESTIYA 8 September N. Lashkevich spoke of panic in that republic's criminal world, of the way many prominent criminals are hastily fleeing abroad, while others have gone quiet and are "lying low," and of the way terrifying explosions and bursts of assault rifle fire are no longer heard in Lithuanian cities. The thing is that the Lithuanian legislators were not afraid of voting for an addition to the Law on Operational Activity which enabled the police to detain all suspicious persons for up to two months—with the prosecutor's approval, of course. Although this article on preventive detention is temporary in nature, it has sharply increased the boldness of many witnesses to crimes who previously would vanish at once. Of course, such a thing can happen in a country which places tremendous value on democracy and, at the same time, possesses a bold parliament (in this case the Seimas) and where the state is headed by such an exceptional and authoritative figure as Algirdas Brazauskas, who, for example, has personally taken control of the case of bandit explosions in Siauliai.

I would very much like to see among our leaders a personality not inferior to Brazauskas in his desire to protect the honor, dignity, and lives of his Russian fellow citizens. My misfortune is that I cannot see one.

The Moscow Government headed by Yu.M. Luzhkov has made a desperate attempt to protect Muscovites. On 31 August this year the city's mayor came out sharply against the premature decision to eliminate registration

in Moscow in the present crime situation. The attempt to organize special measures to protect the life and property of Muscovites will probably provoke an angry rebuke from those who are not interested in revising the Criminal Code and those who, alas, profess a powerful Bolshevist slogan: "The worse things are the better."

I have frequent doubts, but in this instance I am convinced that Luzhkov's stand will not be to the taste of the giants of our lawmaking body. I am sure that the Supreme Soviet will not make even the slightest movement to support and develop the Moscow Government's position; in general, when you live exclusively under the vigilant eye of the militia and move about only in the deputies' special transport, need you think about the life and safety of the people ranged on the lower and middle floors of our unstable state pyramid?

Very soon crime in Russia will make a new, already planned surge, and the value of your life and mine will approach zero, as in the times of the "Red terror."

Vologda Entrepreneurs, Authorities Clash

PM1409152793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Viktor Filippov: "Young Capitalists Bid for Power in Russian Provinces"]

[Text] Following a rally at which members of Vologda's third estate demanded the resignation of the mayor and his team, the Inner Soviet decided to convene an extraordinary session of the city soviet on the matter of the Vologda administration's activity. Aleksandr Lukichev, first deputy chairman of the city soviet, said:

"We were working on the matter independently of the entrepreneurs' demands, and we are not going to allow ourselves to be drawn into a dirty political game."

What Aleksandr Lukichev described as a dirty political game was actually in evidence at the aforementioned rally at the beginning of August. It was organized by supporters of the Economic Freedom Party and the "Vologda People's Movement." The former is pretty well known, but the latter needs an introduction.

The "Vologda People's Movement" was founded by Mikhail Surov, 38-year-old owner of the "Provintsial" firm. His business card shows his life line, which is at zero in 1981, when he was given seven years for speculation. Surov hates communists, supports market reforms, and sympathizes with the "Russia for the Russians" slogan. The political foundation of the "Vologda People's Movement," which was formed last summer as the local entrepreneurs' means of combating itinerant competitors, particularly persons of "Caucasian nationality," was cast from this explosive mixture. It was then that around 200 young businessmen, headed by Surov, blockaded the oblast internal affairs administration and blocked the central street of Vologda, demanding that the authorities clear the city of dealers from the Caucasus, who, in the pickets' opinion, are to blame for the sharp rise in crime.

At the same time, the movement sent a truckload of medicines to war-torn Tiraspol, participated in the defense of the "Ostankino" television center against Anpilov's supporters, arranged a festival for Vologda women on 8 March, organized political support for the Russian president at the April referendum, arranged Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's stay in the city, and collected a large amount of incriminating material on city officials. It is now the most active political organization in Vologda. According to Mikhail Surov, the movement has many supporters among army officers and in special-purpose militia detachments, the militia, and the Security Ministry. Judging by the fact that the criminal proceedings instituted after the fall massacre in the Vologda market led nowhere, Surov is not exaggerating his organization's influence. According to some people, the movement's actions may appear to have a variety of aims, but the provinces are taking their own, basic route to a new Russia, so outwardly contradictory actions by Surov's party are a perfectly logical phenomenon. The Russian provinces are currently experiencing a crisis of national consciousness, and as far as the "Vologda People's Movement" is concerned, playing on the Vologda people's national feelings is a means of achieving popularity, rather than the movement's essential purpose. The movement is defending its right to free ownership, but this goal does not mix well with nationalism.

Of course, the methods used by the Vologda capitalists are like an attempt to wash a filthy apartment with dirty water. But at the same time other political organizations in Vologda which have been trying to protect their own purity have ended up on the brink of collapse. The local "Democratic Russia" broke with Borovoy's Economic Freedom Party over the latter's alliance with the movement, which Democratic Russia regards as nationalist. The coordinating council of the Vologda branch of Rutskoy's party has condemned the movement's methods. The Vologda "Democratic Russia" people and Rutskoy's supporters also quarreled on account of the well-known Moscow scandals. As a result, the "Russian Reforms" bloc, which was very prominent in Vologda political life until recently, has broken up into little organizations, and the strengthening movement no longer regards them as competitors in the power struggle.

It is an interesting fact that the Vologda capitalists' political action came at the very height of the battle against corruption. I do not think it was an accident.

Not a week passes without the Vologda papers exposing further bribes. In Sheksninskiy Rayon 15 leaders, headed by the city mayor himself, were arrested for accepting bribes. In Vologda the first deputy city mayor, the chief architect, and the geological survey chief are being investigated on suspicion of accepting bribes. Several prominent oblast administration officials have already been found guilty of accepting bribes. At a rally one businessman said a city office involved with water

supply had quite officially demanded 2 million rubles [R] for approval of a land allocation document.

As long as the fight against corruption was confined to talk, such contacts with officials did not bother anyone. But now it is better for entrepreneurs to be honest. At the beginning of August the Vologda capitalists told officials about this by organizing a picket in the center of the city, outside the tax inspectorate, chanting the eloquent slogan: "We will give no more bribes!" But the authorities did not take it seriously. Then came the demand for the mayor's resignation.

After the rally Mayor Boris Upadyshev, offended by what the businessmen had said, asked the prosecutor's office to sue them for slander. The "Vologda People's Movement" also turned to authoritative bodies for help: The incriminating material on the city officials was handed to the oblast internal affairs administration anticorruption department.

"We believe we have done everything we can do legally," Mikhail Surov told your IZVESTIYA correspondent. "Now we are preparing to take further, tougher action. Not all our methods could be described as civilized. But we are not calling on anyone to give us broad support."

It looks like the people of Vologda will be witnessing a new political skirmish between young capitalists and the city authorities in the very near future. Governor Nikolay Podgornov is very worried about this confrontation. The other day he took the urgent step of instituting the post of his deputy for organizational and political matters. Vladimir Lopatin—former USSR people's deputy and deputy chairman of the Russian State Committee for Defense and Security in Silayev's government—was appointed to the post.

"What is happening in Vologda is inevitable," Vladimir Lopatin believes. "A third force in the shape of the entrepreneurs has entered the political arena. And we will seek mutual understanding with it, so that all the problems can be tackled calmly on that basis."

Let us hope so.

International Affairs

'Overcrowded' Nuclear Warheads Overheat in Ukraine

PM1409181593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 93 First Edition p 1

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Nuclear Warheads 'Running a Temperature' in Ukraine. Russian Specialists Fly Out To Treat Them"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has learned that the temperature has risen abruptly in a nuclear warhead storage facility located at Pervomaysk in Nikolayev Oblast. The Russian leadership was informed of this by Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma. A group of specialists from the Ministry of Atomic Energy, including the chief warhead designer and the people who constructed the weapons [boyepripasy], as well as people from the Russian Ministry of Defense, immediately flew out to Ukraine.

We asked Major General Vitaliy Yakovlev, deputy chief of staff of the Russian Ministry of Defense main directorate which specializes in nuclear weapons, to comment on this incident. He said that no accident has occurred at Pervomaysk, although the symptoms are very alarming. It indicates a gross violation of the nuclear safety rules and the norms for servicing special weapons.

The general stated that right now it is still too early to say for sure why this has happened. A competent commission is at work in Pervomaysk, and it would not be right or advisable to anticipate its conclusions, especially as nuclear weapons installations are a state and military secret. But there can be no doubt about one thing: This is not a case of negligence, unprofessionalism, or evil intent. What has happened is a result of the political approach to the problem of nuclear weapons which currently exists in Ukraine.

It is well known that on 2 July, the Ukrainian parliament declared its ownership of these nuclear weapons, thus subordinating to itself the last Russian subunits engaged in monitoring the state of the nuclear warheads and carrying out maintenance. Russia was deprived of the opportunity to carry out any scheduled maintenance or to ensure the delivery of spare parts for these weapons.

By servicing these weapons, Russia would have recognized Ukraine's right to possess nuclear weapons, which would have been an extremely gross violation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty by a depositary state, which is what Russia is. But, on the other hand, Ukrainian specialists cannot service these weapons on their own since they lack the appropriate material and technical base and the necessary spare parts.

From the technical viewpoint it is also inadvisable to keep unserviced nuclear warheads attached to strategic missiles, as the specialists obscurely put it. They are removed from the missiles and placed in special storage facilities, which have now become overcrowded. This is the reason why background radiation has increased several times in this facility, thus becoming a danger to the health of people working in the installation, and why the warheads themselves are beginning to "react" to the closeness and congestion. But huge sums are needed to build new storage facilities. And this comes at a time when, under its international obligations, Ukraine must remove nuclear weapons from the republic's territory.

The agreements signed in Crimea between Viktor Chernomyrdin and Leonid Kuchma—we have learned, incidentally, that the full text of these agreements is to be published in the near future—envisages the recall of these weapons (of which there are approximately 2,000) to Russian territory and their disassembly at Russian enterprises, for which Ukraine will receive appropriate compensation.

Russia has proposed starting this recall immediately, as soon as the bilateral commission—under the agreement its work has been planned for September—compiles a timetable for transporting the charges. According to Russian Atomic Energy Minister Viktor Mikhaylov, this will take 18-20 months in all. But the Ukrainian side deemed this time frame too short. The Russians have agreed to clarify the matter during the talks in September and October, but the commission members from both countries have not yet been appointed.

Meanwhile the nuclear weapons cannot wait. They are making their presence felt, not just through changes in temperature and an increase in the radiation level (the specialists have a good idea what lies behind this), but also through other alarming signals. But for some reason the politicians cannot hear them.

Defense Official Blames Russia

LD1409213193 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Some of the mass media disseminated a report today about the extraordinary situation which has supposedly taken place at facilities of the missile troops located in the district of the town of Pervomaysk. The fact is stated that a small rise in temperature was recorded on the premises where the nuclear warheads are stored. A correspondent of the UNIAN news agency asked Deputy Defense Minister Ivan Vasylyovych Bizhan to comment on the situation which arose:

[Begin Bizhan recording, in Russian] The rise in temperature took place precisely because an excessive quantity of those nuclear warheads are stored there. That is the first thing. The second thing is that the measures taken to lower the temperature were correct and this small rise in temperature did not have any effect on the nuclear warheads themselves.

These (?difficulties) were created, above all, because the Russian side did not meet us half-way. Well, for example, since last year we have constantly proposed that an appropriate agreement be made with the Russian

side, namely on guaranteed supervision and manufacturer's supervision over nuclear ordnance [yadernyye boyepripasy] deployed here in Ukraine. Well, for various reasons, this agreement has, up to this point, not been signed. In addition, we also proposed that an agreement on the manufacturer's guaranteed supervision or servicing of military missile complexes be signed, and this agreement was also not signed for various reasons. It was only signed, you know, at the last meeting between presidents in the Crimea. Thus this question, one can now say, will be resolved.

What measures are being taken by the Ministry of Defense? The Ministry of Defense is taking the following measures. Well, first, Defense Minister Colonel General Kostyantyn Petrovych Morozov cancelled the instruction from the chief of the general staff of the Russian Federation on reducing those facilities, and issued an appropriate order, in accordance with which the disbanding of those facilities where nuclear warheads should be stored is suspended, and he issued an instruction that they complete preparation (?within a deadline) for functioning according to this purpose. I should say that work is being carried out there. By the end of this month these facilities, which are located in Ukraine, will be able to function in accordance with their purpose. [end recording]

Crimean Protocols Spark Reactions in Ukraine

Photocopies Published

WS1509063093 Kiev NEZAVISIMOST in Russian 10 Sep 93 p 1

[Statement by NEZAVISIMOST editorial board: "Double Dealing?"; accompanied by excerpts from President Leonid Kravchuk's 6 September news conference in Kiev, and purported photocopies of the protocol on the withdrawal of nuclear warheads and the protocol on the Black Sea Fleet signed in Crimea on 3 September; handwritten signatures are shown; documents are published in boxes with inscriptions "not for press" in the upper right-hand corners]

[Text] The Crimean deal made at the top level continues to stir the emotions of our citizens. After all the radio and television persuasions, the question remains unresolved: What will happen to the Black Sea Fleet and Ukrainian strategic arms? At news conferences, the top officials are saying something different from the documents they signed. While publishing the photocopies of official documents that the newspaper possesses (if these are fabrications, then they were made at a very high level), the editorial board, in order to avoid rumors, addresses President Kravchuk and Prime Minister Kuchma with a request to either refute or confirm their authenticity.

[Excerpts from Leonid Kravchuk's 6 September news conference] "We have to make balanced decisions. This is why we charged the committee composed of representatives of Ukraine and Russia to examine the proposal put forward by the Russian side. No other decision was made. Later, it will be discussed in accordance with the procedure.... If we sign any agreement then, I repeat, it will have legal power only after ratification by the Supreme Council."

"....Boris Yeltsin did not speak about the transfer of the fleet. He only stated that the issue had been studied, and that we had agreed to form a state commission for these issues. I heard this myself. Thus, let us not distort the Russian president's words."

Protocol on Withdrawal to Russia of All Nuclear Warheads of the Strategic Nuclear Forces Deployed in Ukraine [document headline]

The Ukrainian prime minister and the chairman of the Russian Federation Cabinet of Ministers have agreed that after the ratification of the START-I treaty by the Ukrainian Supreme Council, the Ukrainian Government will provide for the withdrawal of nuclear warheads of the Strategic Nuclear Forces deployed in Ukraine and subject to the treaty [last four words added in handwriting] to the Russian Federation—no later than 24 months from the date of ratification—for dismantling and elimination.

[Signed] For the Government of Ukraine: L. Kuchma [Kuchma's signature in handwriting]

For the Government of the Russian Federation: [illegible signature]

[Dated] 3 September 1993

Protocol on Regulating the Issues of the Black Sea Fleet [document headline]

We, the governmental delegations of Ukraine and the Russian Federation, shall, within a one-month period, examine all the issues concerning drafting an agreement, according to which the entire Black Sea Fleet, along with its Crimean infrastructure, will be used by Russia and will receive Russian emblems. We agree that the Russian side will make appropriate payments for the part of the Black Sea Fleet, including the infrastructure, that was supposed to be transferred to Ukraine under the provisions of earlier agreements.

[Signed] For Ukraine: L. Kravchuk [Kravchuk's signature in handwriting]

For the Russian Federation: [illegible signature]

[Dated] 3 September 1993

Fleet Officers Support Yeltsin

LD1509093693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0812 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Sep—"The Black Sea Fleet officers assemblies have 100 percent unequivocally and firmly

stated their support for the position of the Supreme Soviet and president of the Russian Federation regarding a united and indivisible Black Sea Fleet," states an appeal by the Coordinating Council of Officers' Assemblies of the Black Sea Fleet. This document was adopted after a "wave" of officers' assemblies that has swept through all the Black Sea Fleet's military units and subunits in the period of 7-15 September, at which the results of the September summit between the presidents of Russia and Ukraine were discussed.

The fleet's warrant officers also took part in the meetings.

During the meetings, the participants called for the Russian Federation to "place the Black Sea Fleet and the on-shore infrastructure under its jurisdiction and to circulate acts of legislation on the fleet's staff, workers, and employees." The appeal by naval seamen states that the officers corps understands clearly that, under the present circumstances, only Russia will be able to guarantee the social protection of all categories of the fleet's servicemen, workers, and employees, and preserve a Black Sea Fleet that will be a guarantor of peace and calm in this region.

The Black Sea Fleet officers' assemblies voiced their concern over the development of nationalism in Ukraine and the failure of the authorities to do anything about this; a state of affairs which, in their view, could lead to "civil war."

The appeal stresses that the officers and warrant officers of the Black Sea Fleet hope that the results of the talks between the presidents of Russia and Ukraine will continue to be put into practice in the future.

SOU Denounces Protocols

LD1409132393 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0747 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev, 13 Sep [dateline as received]—The Union of Officers of Ukraine (SOU) has approved a statement on the signing of the protocols during the meeting between the presidents of Ukraine and Russia in the Crimea. The SOU is demanding that the Supreme Council convene to denounce the signed protocols concerning the transfer or sale of the Ukrainian Black Sea Fleet and the coastal infrastructure; to review Ukraine's status as a nonnuclear state; to not sign any agreements or form any unions which could harm Ukraine. The SOU is demanding that the Supreme Council should enter into negotiations with Russia through international intermediaries concerning the withdrawal of the Russian fleet and Russian soldiers from Ukrainian territorial waters and should dismiss the head of the security service and Ukraine's minister of internal affairs. The SOU will support Ukrainian Defense Minister Kostiantin Morozov.

The SOU is demanding that Ukraine declare its withdrawal from the CIS at the meeting of CIS heads of state on 24 September 1993.

Negative Reactions Published

AU1409133693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 8 Sep 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "With All Available Means, Including Weapons"]

[Text] **The editorial board of HOLOS UKRAYINY continues to receive statements and responses regarding the Crimean negotiations from parties, movements, and organization.**

The council of the **Ukrainian Republican Party** has stated that the results of the negotiations are a logical consequence of L. Kuchma's two-faced policy. The document reads: "The constant arousing of panic and the destruction of the system of Ukraine's provision of energy sources through commercial structures—independent of the Moscow government's attempts to restore the administrative command system of management—and finally, the ultimatum-like statement on the need to sign a treaty on economic union—this is only an incomplete list of the deliberate criminal actions which led to Ukraine's artificially-created indebtedness to Russia and which ultimately weakened Ukraine's positions."

The council of the party has stated that any agreement with Russia may be concluded only on the following terms: Russia must compensate not only for one-half of the Black Sea Fleet, but also for 16.37 percent of the cost of all the fleets of the former USSR. In addition to that, the Russian Fleet must be withdrawn from the territory of Ukraine no later than the end of 1994. In resolving the question of mutual indebtedness, it is necessary to take into account Russia's indebtedness to the Ukrainian state for: the assets of the former USSR, the Ukrainian share in the gold reserves and in the diamond fund, foreign property, Ukraine's contribution to the development of the oil-prospecting complexes of Siberia, and so on.

The council of the party states that, if Ukrainian statehood and the territory are put under threat, the Ukrainian Republican Party will use its constitutional right to call upon Ukrainian citizens to defend the territorial integrity and national security of their state with all available means, including armed ones.

"The accord on selling one-half of the Black Sea Fleet, which might belong to Ukraine, to the Russian Federation and leasing out the shore infrastructure for servicing the fleet is directed against Ukraine's national interests and creates a real threat to the state"—reads the statement by **Ukraine's People's Rukh** [Movement]. In this way, points out the document, Ukraine is paying for the incompetence of its government. "No—to bargaining away the Ukrainian state! Ukraine needs a government that is capable of protecting its national interests and of putting things in

order in our state"—these are the concluding words of the statement by Ukraine's People's Rukh.

The Ukrainian share in the Black Sea Fleet cannot become a subject of trade, stated the **Ukrainian Students Union.** "Its loss," reads the document, "means the actual loss of Sevastopol, which, in the circumstances that are taking shape, will turn into a permanent and perpetual base of Russia's united fleet in Ukraine." The union calls upon all patriotic forces of Ukraine to prevent the ratification of the anti-Ukrainian decisions.

The **Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists** demands that any trade involving the Black Sea Fleet be stopped immediately. The statement by the congress asserts the need to radically change all power structures by convening a National Constitutional Assembly.

"Nobody will manage to bring us, the people of Ukraine, to our knees," reads the statement by the **regional organizations of "Prosvita" [Enlightenment], the Union of Ukrainian Women, the leadership of the Zaporizhzhya Cossackdom, Union of Officers of Ukraine's Naval Forces** and other sociopolitical organizations of Sevastopol. They came out against the "intentions to create strongholds of foreign states on Ukrainian land."

Republicans Assail Negotiations

LD1409155093 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0747 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Sevastopol, 13 Sep—The Crimea regional organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party [URP] assesses the results of the high-level Russian-Ukrainian negotiations in Massandra as being the first step toward Ukraine possibly losing its independence. This is mentioned in a document approved at a meeting of the council of the Crimean regional URP organization. The republicans believe that this is possible because of a lack of support by Ukraine's parliament and government for the president's state-building activities. The republicans are demanding the following from the president, the Supreme Council, and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine:

1. To approve the decision on the pre-term suspension of the Supreme Council's authorities and Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers;

2. To declare a state of emergency in Ukraine's economy;

3. To denounce all the agreements with the Russian Federation on the Black Sea Fleet;

4. To immediately withdraw all of Russia's military formations from Ukrainian territory and to appeal to international organizations in connection with this;

5. To immediately demand from the Supreme Council of Crimea that the constitution and legislative acts of the Republic of Crimea be brought into line with the constitution and laws of Ukraine;

6. To recognize the majles as the single authorized representative body of the Crimean-Tatar people and to include its representatives in resolving all issues connected with the Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet.

The Crimean republicans consider that the gravity of Ukraine's situation requires decisive and appropriate measures on the part of the Ukraine leadership.

Russia's Rumyantsev Ends Visit to Crimea

LD1509085193 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Text] Simferopol, 14 Sep—Oleg Rumyantsev—secretary of the Constitutional Commission of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Social Democratic Party [SDP] of the Russian Federation—has ended his visit to the Crimea. During meetings with the leadership of the Republican Party of the Crimea [RPK] in Simferopol and Yalta, Mr. Rumyantsev stated his support for the RPK's ideas of restoring a single economic and political area on the territory of the former USSR. Oleg Rumyantsev also met the Black Sea Fleet command and stated that he did not consider the negotiations between [Ukrainian President Leonid] Kravchuk and [Russian President Boris] Yeltsin in Massandra to be the settlement of the Black Sea Fleet issue. The SDP chairman also met the Crimean Supreme Council Chairman Mykola Bahrov. Mykola Bahrov declined to discuss with Mr. Rumyantsev the issue of "the constitutional crisis" [in relations] between the Crimea and Russia, or that of opening a Russian consulate in the Republic of the Crimea.

At a news conference, Oleg Rumyantsev stated that the Crimea is Russian land which had been transferred to become part of Ukraine in 1954.

Paper Cites Kuchma Interview on Russia, Belarus

PM1409152193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Sep 93 First Edition p 7

[Interview with Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma by correspondent Boris Sverdlov; place and date not given: "Leonid Kuchma: This Government Has a Matter of Days Left"]

[Excerpts] The interview published below with Leonid Kuchma by journalists from Ukrainian central publications was shown on Kiev television three times. And each time the sharpest opinions were excised from it. In particular, those on Ukraine's economic dependence on Russia and vice versa.

This was by no means done accidentally. Lately, national reformers have again, as in the first days following the proclamation of "independence," begun diligently trying to prove that Ukraine possesses everything necessary to live prosperously and that all difficulties stem from its eastern neighbor, which is allegedly trying with all its might to trample the young independent state into the ground.

It is understandable that Kuchma's opinions are being excised from the full account. But in our opinion they clearly reveal real rather than imaginary problems following the attainment of Ukrainian statehood. [passage omitted]

[Sverdlov] What is the current situation regarding the Ukrainian-Russian-Belarussian union?

[Kuchma] A delegation headed by Vice Premier Valentin Landik recently returned from Minsk. All questions were agreed with our side. There is one problem—what to call this document. During its signing Kravchuk commented on the title, proposing the word "commonwealth" instead of "union."

[Sverdlov] What period of time does the program cover?

[Kuchma] The main thing is to decide what to do this year. And, naturally, next year.

[Sverdlov] Is it currently possible to talk of a program when we are so highly dependent on Russian power sources?

[Kuchma] That is the point! Whoever I meet and wherever I meet them I constantly ask: How can this main problem be solved? Before the end of this year we must pay Russia $3 billion. Where are we going to get it? Today I take the same stand as in May: Unless we find a political solution with Russia, Ukraine's economy will not survive. And not only the economy—the people will not survive!

[Sverdlov] In your opinion, is a change of political course needed?

[Kuchma] I would say no. It is simply necessary to sit down at a roundtable and reach solutions.

[Sverdlov] Is Ukraine now in a position to settle its debts with Russia?

[Kuchma] We will not find that sort of money here today. And unfortunately I do not see that kind of creditor in the West either.

[Sverdlov] During his visit to Poland Yeltsin announced the laying of a gas pipeline between Russia, Belarus, and Poland. How do you regard this step?

[Kuchma] It is to some extent because of our behavior and reproaches we are feeding it that Russia has started seeking partners to which it can speak in another tone. I regard this project as an extremely negative one for Ukraine. [passage omitted]

[Sverdlov] Is it true that you found out about Defense Minister Morozov's trip to the United States from the newspapers?

[Kuchma] I do not know and never have known where, with whom, or why the defense minister travels.

[Sverdlov] Can you throw any light on trading on the Interbank Currency Exchange?

[Kuchma] Nothing happens without leaving a trace. The same is true of the 5 trillion karbovantsy which were put into circulation. It was to someone's advantage to cause a panic over the hryvnya's introduction.... All the same I compelled the National Bank to hand over information on trading whereby the rate had soared incredibly: Not one state enterprise was involved—only commercial structures. If we analyze the sale of 231 billion Russian rubles, we will not find a single state enterprise either. [passage omitted]

[Sverdlov] In Russia there is an opinion that it will find it easier to survive without satellites—on its own. It is true that a program to create a closed production cycle has been worked out there....

[Kuchma] That program was worked out way back by Gaydar and his institute. Even then they had no qualms about saying that Russia would find it easier to survive on its own. This policy is now being pursued in practice. [passage omitted]

[Sverdlov] Is a situation possible whereby your relations with the president become as cool as, for example, those between Rutskoy and Yeltsin? And whereby we get an acute conflict within the executive branch?

[Kuchma] There is no friction between me and Leonid Makarovich. When we meet we find complete mutual understanding. But a night passes and the president (I do not know under the influence of which forces) starts doing the opposite....

[Sverdlov] What kind of relations do you have with Ivan Plyushch, the head of parliament?

[Kuchma] Generally I have always liked Ivan Stepanovich. But something happened to him. The first salvo was in May. He accused the government of everything. Yes, we have had three changes of government. I think he should now ask himself what kind of parliament changes the cabinet so often. Everyone must look at himself objectively.

[Sverdlov] What do you see as the solution to the strained situation with parliament?

[Kuchma] All countries have, by now, trodden the path of fresh elections. Having done their bit, people should make way for others. What surprises me is that before every session many deputies come to me and assure me: "We are with you, we will support you!" But what is the result? These people did not support my request to be granted additional powers. The fear driven into us for 70 years has still not been completely banished: What if suddenly the Whites replace the Reds, or vice versa?

I think that parliament should be left with only one role before the elections—to prepare the Constitution and a law on elections. The legislative function should be

transferred to the president and executive authority to the government. There is no other way. I am convinced of it! [Kuchma ends]

In Place of an Afterword...

Leonid Kuchma's rating, despite the wholesale rise in food prices, is currently very high. Nevertheless he has, as we know, resigned. Evidently he could not reconcile himself to the fact that the Supreme Council took reprisals over the government program to stabilize the country's economy and refused to give the Cabinet of Ministers additional powers that would have made it possible to administer the reforms more flexibly. In addition the leaders of most parties accused him of having pro-Russian sentiments.

But it is to be supposed that this alone was not the straw that broke the camel's back. The last straw was when President Kravchuk, under the onslaught of criticism that was heaped on him, renounced the accords reached in the Crimea concerning the Black Sea Fleet's future. This is possibly what finally convinced Kuchma that his president and parliament had completely different opinions about the ways to get Ukraine out of the deadlock. The premier's attempts to convince the nationalists that their struggle for the state's isolation would lead to the loss of independence were essentially unheeded.

President Kravchuk has not expressed any particular objections to Kuchma's resignation and merely persuaded him to act as head of government until a decision by the next Supreme Council. There can be no doubt that parliament will welcome the resignation without hesitation. But the question is whether a more worthy candidate will be found, and especially one who will kiss good-bye to economic mutual relations with Russia.

Proposal To Swap Unfinished Cruiser for Fuel Debt

LD1509093493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0852 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Anatoliy Kuznetsov]

[Text] Nikolayev September 15 TASS—Following the preliminary agreement of the Russian and Ukrainian presidents to swap the Ukrainian part of the Black Sea Fleet for its debt to Russia, a representative of the Ukrainian president in Nikolayev proposed to exchange the unfinished heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser "Varyag" for the Ukrainian fuel debt.

Anatoliy Kinakh told the "VECHERNY NIKOLAYEV" newspaper that Russia and Ukraine can share the unfinished vessel and the Ukrainian part will go as payments for the state debt.

After that an agreement is to be concluded, according to which Russia becomes the customer and Ukraine—the producer of the "Varyag", the construction of which stalled at Nikolayev shipyards after the collapse of the Soviet Union because of financial problems. [sentence as recieved]

Three-fourths of the construction work has already been carried out and Kinakh warned that if the work does not resume in three to four months, the completion of the vessel will become impossible at all for technical reasons.

Party Favors Unity With Russia

WS1409130093 Kaliningrad KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 93 p 5

[Interview with Igor Porshakov, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Party of Slavic Unity and a member of its regional council, by N. Budoyan; place and date not given: "A Word in Defense of the 'Russian Empire'"]

[Text] It looks like a new force is emerging from the political chaos in Ukraine. The Party of Slavic Unity held its first congress in Kiev on 30-31 July. The number of its members and supporters is growing. The party's ranks are being filled by those who cannot stand the suffering generated by the Ukrainian system. Over the last three weeks, Ukrainian media have reported that it is not just Crimea, Sevastopol, and Donetsk region which are willing to unite with Russia; Ciscarpathia is also reported to be ready to unite. Still, I would not say that those are political statements. National consciousness and patriotism fade to the background and economic interests come into prominence. No matter how hard one tries, the market for Ukrainian goods remains traditional—Russia and the CIS. The rupture in economic relations caused by the Ukrainian financial-banking system has been choking production. Under such circumstances, one can view the Party of Slavic Unity, which is directed towards an all-Slavic consciousness, as a common-sense party. Our correspondent has met in Zaporozhye with Igor Porshakov, one of the party's leaders and a member of its regional council.

[Budoyan] What are the goals of your party?

[Porshakov] Creation of a united state on a federative basis.

[Budoyan] So, you are not scared by Russian "imperialistic" ambitions?

[Porshakov] Not at all. An empire, as a structure, has more advantages then a national state. Supporting the imperial idea in general, I defend the Russian empire from tendentious and false insults, in particular from attacks on its right to exist. After all, market and economy have a supranational nature. It is pointless to lament over numerous wars and internal conflicts that happened in imperial history. War is a phenomenon of our imperfect world. Not only empires waged wars in the past. The French Empire waged more wars then multinational Russia. The difference is that an empire conducts successful wars, as a rule, basically on its borders, and provides security and internal peace for its citizens.

Today, we have lost all of this. The country is being torn apart by internal feuds and is being insulted from abroad.

[Budoyan] What about the nationality issue?

[Porshakov] One can preserve national, cultural, socioeconomic, and ethnical diversity in an empire. After all, what makes an empire different from a national state is a relatively tolerant attitude towards ethnic minorities. Ukrainian people were not politically oppressed in the Russian Empire. Ukrainians, like the majority of nationalities in Russia, had equal rights and duties as Russians, having been actually a sovereign of the Russian state. The misconception of the nationalistic approach to relations between an empire and its nations lies in a monolithic understanding of a nation. In fact, any ethnic community is a complex system of social groups, interests, and relations. It is natural that those groups have contradictory social interests and relatively different attitudes towards an empire. For example, commercial and artisan circles supported conquests by the Roman Empire, while urban elite condemned them. There is a similar situation in Ukraine today. The central state nomenclature and Ukrainian intelligentsia from the western oblasts support Ukrainian national independence. The rest of society remains unmoved by this idea, because they have never developed a national consciousness.

[Budoyan] What about the results of the 1 December 1991 referendum?

[Porshakov] The people voted not for an independent Ukrainian state but for future prosperity. After all, it was a question of more economic freedom within the USSR. By the way, even Ukrainian nationalists are working to negate the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people. The forthcoming 26 September referendum will probably lead to completely different results. The reason is all but the same—the economic crisis. In Ukraine, there are many social and national groups that are interested in restoring the USSR—Russian and certain other communities, some mixed families, Russian-speaking Ukrainians, business industrialists, and Russian market-oriented people. An entire array of factors encourages Russian-Ukrainian rapprochement—economic, cultural, and demographic ties, tradition, etcetera. There have been many historical examples of empires restored after a long period of disintegration.

[Budoyan] What is your party's stance on the Black Sea Fleet issue?

[Porshakov] There is no such issue, but there are people who have artificially created it. The fleet partition will harm the traditional Russian-Ukrainian combat friendship. The issue of financing the Black Sea Fleet can be solved only through an agreement with Russia. It should provide for Russia to bear the majority of expenses in exchange for use of the Crimean naval bases. We have acquainted the presidents and legislators of both countries with our proposals.

[Budoyan] What political parties support you, and on whose support can you count?

[Porshakov] Our party unites representatives of the emerging bourgeoisie, old industrialists, and local bureaucracy. Many Ukrainian political parties and movements endorse renovation of economic ties with republics of the former USSR. I can name some of them: Union of Communists of Ukraine, the Party of Labor, the Working Ukraine, the Socialist Party, and the Committee of Women's Movement, "Dignity." We also count on a positive reaction from Russia.

[Budoyan] What you said earlier, voiced by a member of the Party of Slavic Unity's regional council, falls in line with an Interregional Association of Industrialists's appeal to the Ukrainian president and prime minister, which reads:

"Stabilization and recovery of the Ukrainian economy, as well as the economy of any other country, is not possible in isolation. Economics ignores borders—those which are guarded, created by administrative issues, and those defined by custom. There is a question: Where is the end of the policy currently endorsed by the authorities? Maybe it will come when today's decrease in food consumption evolves into a famine, and the horrifying process of the nation's extinction will be counted in millions rather than hundreds of thousands. Economical, political, and social isolation has become government policy. An unprecedented smear campaign has been waged against those who support the integration process. Do the ringleaders realize that they are turning Ukraine into a mediocre colony?"

A joint statement of political parties and movements sounds decisively and irreconcilably:

"Incompetence in dealing with economic problems, the deliberate policy of Ukrainian self-isolation, and the president's cooperation with nationalistic forces have led to the deep economic crisis. In the course of the latest strikes and protests, the Ukrainian people put forward a motion of no confidence in the president and the Supreme Council. The people's final will should be expressed during the 26 September 1993 referendum.

"We demand that the Supreme Council deputies make all necessary Constitutional amendments which would allow for the referendum to be carried out and meet the people's will."

Independence Day was celebrated in Ukraine on 23 August. Freedom is not a sausage. Democrats and nationalists have propagated the new idea for long time. Freedom is a sweet word. Still, the sweet life is not coming to either Russia or Ukraine, or any other republic of the former USSR. Overcrowded railway stations and trains, bags, sacks, and boxes—thanks to which the people are making their living—speak volumes for it. But, can you still call it living?

Morozov on U.S. Visit, TU-95's

AU1409150993 Kiev UKRAYINSKA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 14 (28), 2-15 Sep 93 p 8

[Interview with Defense Minister Colonel General Kostyantyn Morozov by Valeriy Zholdak, UKRAYINSKA HAZETA editor in chief, "at the request of readers"; place and date not given: "This Is How We Ukrainians Are—We Know What We Want"]

[Text] [Zholdak] Kostyantyn Petrovych, I believe that you occupy a leading position among ministers who are at the forefront of the struggle for Ukrainian independence. I am, therefore, very grateful to you for finding time for this interview. Knowing modesty, I would also beg you not to turn down our request and elucidate just one fact. Our readers, after they learned from the previous UKRAYINSKA HAZETA issue about your flight on the American military aircraft G-18 during your recent visit to the United States, literally deluged the editorial office with requests to speak in greater detail about this event, unusual in the light of an official visit. One of these curious people (he called himself a military pilot) said that it was nothing but a "canard," because, according to him, "it is impossible to just sit in a modern fighter belonging to another country and make a heroic flight above the Atlantic Ocean."

[Morozov] You know, I do not want to talk about it too much or have your newspaper dwell upon this. There are more important problems in life.

[Zholdak] This is a problem for the readers, Kostyantyn Petrovych. Because it is an old communist habit, they would like to know why Americans all of a sudden allowed a foreigner, better yet a former Soviet military pilot and on top of that minister of defense of the presently "nuclear" Ukraine, to get into their superfighter. Because thereby they have revealed all of their secrets to you. Do you see my point? Some of your subordinates do not even believe that this ever happened.

[Morozov] That one cannot simply sit and operate an unfamiliar military fighter is correct. One should tell the truth.

[Zholdak] How was the flight then?

[Morozov] It is an impossible task, unless there is a pilot. I am telling you this as a specialist. The Americans offered me to try out their latest aircraft. I never studied it. That is why I could only be on its crew. In the air, I was given a chance to operate the aircraft. However, all the flight operations—from getting into the cockpit, starting the engines, driving the aircraft along the runway, taking off, and making a separation in order to emerge in the given area, to fulfilling all elements of landing—are so complicated that only the pilot can do it. At home, before I had to pilot a new type of aircraft, I studied it for maybe half a year.

[Zholdak] That was when you were a pilot?

[Morozov] Yes. For a pilot to be able to fly independently on a new type of aircraft, he needs to do a lot of work. In this case, I only got two hours training: On the type of aircraft and how to work the ejection mechanism. I got dressed and flew. However, I was not on my own. I was with an instructor who had been trained to operate this type of aircraft.

[Zholdak] How did you communicate? I assume there was no interpreter?

[Morozov] Of course not. We understood each other because of the instruments.

[Zholdak] He told you, when you did the piloting, to turn this on or that....

[Morozov] No, when still on the ground, we agreed, via an interpreter, what was what. In the air, we understood everything without an interpreter.

[Zholdak] The cockpit is small?

[Morozov] There are two cockpits. They are identical and have identical control panels. In those parts of the flight where I myself could not fulfill certain tasks, he fulfilled them, and I watched. Whenever I could, in the air, if it was necessary to do aerobatic maneuvers or a paired flight, I did my own piloting and could get a feel for the aircraft, as in the past. Some of that experience has stayed with me.

[Zholdak] You have long been out of practice?

[Morozov] I haven't been on flights since I became a division commander, in 1984.

[Zholdak] Almost 10 years.

[Morozov] Something like that. However, this year, when I was on an official visit in the United States, they offered me the opportunity to fly the F-16.

[Zholdak] Is it worse than the F-18?

[Morozov] I would not say that it is any worse. These are aircraft of the same type, but the fighters are dissimilar. I did not decline the offer. I have to say that pilots will understand me.

[Zholdak] You are simply a determined person?

[Morozov] It is a different matter. If, for example, someone is not a pilot or was not a pilot on the same type of aircraft and is offered the chance to take a flight with a crew, it is one thing. However, if such an offer is made to a person who was a pilot for many years and was commander of a similar aircraft, this is an entirely different matter. What do I have in mind? Well, such a person would simply be given the opportunity to experience the feeling of being in the cockpit of an up-to-date aircraft and experience the feeling of being in flight; to see what kind of accelerative forces they have to deal with and what reactions are needed. This is the level of information that this person will obtain. If, on the other

hand, a former pilot, a fighter, and a commander of an aviation division is offered the chance to make such a flight, it is an entirely different situation.

[Zholdak] It was, therefore, the first time after the break that you piloted the F-16?

[Morozov] I also flew in Great Britain. I also flew in France. Both on the "Tornado" and on the "Mirage."

[Zholdak] Just imagine!

[Morozov] That was my fourth flight outside my country. In such a situation, people are offered the opportunity to fly with a team.

[Zholdak] On an F-16?

[Morozov] Yes. A task is given. A group imitating an enemy takes off. The second group fulfills the duties of fighters. It makes a search in the air, finds the adversary, and uses long-range missiles. Then it makes a visual search and finds the adversary by naked eye. Close-range air battle weapons are used: Both short- range missiles and artillery gun. All of this takes place during group maneuvers and individual flights. Then, if you are a pilot, they ask you whether you want to try your favorite aerobatic maneuvers in order to see how you can do those maneuvers on an unfamiliar aircraft, an aircraft of a different type. If you feel that you can make it, you say: Yes, with pleasure. He [the instructor] ceases piloting, and you perform the maneuvers and get an idea of how you are doing.

[Zholdak] You become as one with the aircraft?

[Morozov] Of course. You get information from unfamiliar instruments. They measure the height in feet and speed in knots. Our unit is kilometer. That is why I want to show what differences there are between flights.

[Zholdak] You mean the latest flight?

[Morozov] No, between a flight made by a civilian with no experience in operating an aircraft and one performed by a professional. There was also a civilian there as a passenger, and one might think that he was also shown the aircraft. However, this is a complicated task—an opportunity to test oneself and assess the aircraft from the point of view of a professional.

[Zholdak] They wanted to take a look at you and see what a Ukrainian minister can do.

[Morozov] Perhaps, in order to see how I find my bearings and whether the minister, if he was a pilot, is capable of anything. While still on the ground, I could say no, I will not go, why should I take risks or: "I have no authorization for this. Or something like that. That would have been normal. However, I decided to seize the opportunity.

[Zholdak] I order to learn where they and we stand?

[Morozov] That flight was useful.

[Zholdak] How did you land on the deck?

[Morozov] We did it together. Together as a team.

[Zholdak] There was a possibility of missing it?

[Morozov] This is very complicated. However, all difficult things were done by the pilot who was supposed to show this to me.

[Zholdak] That pilot was a lieutenant or a captain?

[Morozov] Captain.

[Zholdak] A practicing specialist?

[Morozov] A military pilot. His responsibility was also enormous—to show the minister of a foreign state a new type of aircraft and how this landing on the deck is fulfilled. I never did anything like that. Our tasks were different.

[Zholdak] Do we have such aircraft?

[Morozov] Yes, we do. However, the principles are different. Our landings are either vertical or done by helicopters.

[Zholdak] Do they use parachutes to hold the aircraft upon landing?

[Morozov] The landing there is as follows: a hook juts out; it engages the ropes; intensive braking over a short distance, and the aircraft stops on the deck immediately after touching the ropes.

[Zholdak] Were you afraid?

[Morozov] As a human being, I....

[Zholdak] However, at that time, the tremendous acceleration was the most frightening thing? One can only feel happy for your strength and restraint, Kostyantyn Petrovych.

[Morozov] I would like you to write as little as possible about this. Because it was not the main point during my visit. This is a small episode that has made such an impression upon journalists, as though it were something incredible.

[Zholdak] When we on the editorial board heard about your flight and landing on the deck, we thought: Those cunning Americans! They wanted our minister to miss his stroke and plunge into the dark waves.

[Morozov] The Americans want to trust us. When they talked to me, they listened with great attention and respect to my words and proposals. I realized that they are very interested in Ukraine.

[Zholdak] Let us conclude our first meeting with this question: What impressed you most during the visit?

[Morozov] During the official reception at the Pentagon, there was a festive ceremony in honor of Ukraine's minister of defense. There was a gun salute, an honor

guard was called involving representatives of all combat arms and under all U.S. banners. The U.S. minister of defense and I made a round of the honor guard. The Ukrainian and U.S. national anthems sounded. Our blue-and-yellow flag was hoisted. This was not only done in Washington, but also during our visit to a naval base in Norfolk. You are asking about my strongest feeling during the visit? I felt enormous responsibility because I represented Ukraine.

[Zholdak] You felt responsibility or pride for Ukraine?

[Morozov] First and foremost, responsibility. Responsibility came foremost. You know, opinions about Ukraine are shaped and form the basis for future political relations based on the attitude to some of my proposals and on my response to their proposals. I saw that, this time, Americans wanted to find out, in a positive way, what our problems are and, as our prominent forefathers used to say, who the Ukrainians are and what they want.

[Zholdak] This is a well-known saying....

[Morozov] Hrushevskyy [Ukrainian nationalist historian, 1866-1934] said this. It is the title of his work "Who Ukrainians Are and What They Want?" The Americans also wanted to find out who we are and what we want. This made a tremendous impression upon me. Perhaps, owing to our sincere personal contacts, our frank conversations, and good will, we managed to make a contribution to political relations between Ukraine, which is arising, and such a powerful and influential state as the United States. So that problems of national security could be dealt with on an equal basis.

[Zholdak] On an equal basis. Then you did not feel as though you were from small Ukraine.

[Morozov] Of course, no..

[Zholdak] Oh!

[Morozov] That was the main thing. The United States of America has its national interests regarding its own security, the security of its people, and independence. The same problems exist for Ukrainians and for our state. We are also concerned about our independence, the protection of our independence, and our national security.

[Zholdak] This is what the United States and Ukraine have in common.

[Morozov] Certainly. Let everybody see that, in this respect, we are a state like any other. However, we are now somewhat weaker economically. We have many problems and we have a crisis situation in the economy and in the credits and finance system. This is a general political situation that undoubtedly affects Ukraine's Armed Forces. This was the main thing....

[Zholdak] The interview was over. However, suddenly the minister himself became an interviewer. He wanted to know more about UKRAYINSKA HAZETA. It turned out that he has been following its analytical publications from the very first issues. He wanted to know what kind of reader the editorial board has in mind, who the analysts and columnists are, and what principle of preparing issues is adhered to. I was impressed by Morozov's genuine tact and deep, but not ostentatious love for Ukraine. He suggested a few interesting topics and recommended, not without reason, that we should be in touch with the newspaper NARODNA ARMIYA. I listened to his sober-minded reflections on the present situation in Ukraine and had a pleasant feeling that I liked this person, who, despite his Russian surname, speaks perfect Ukrainian.

After the one-hour long conversation, I left his office and almost all the way back to the editorial office, I was thinking with pleasure about the unexpectedly interesting meeting.

When, the next day, I read a short commentary in HOLOS UKRAYINY by Natalya Totska, a teacher at the Kievo-Mohylyanska Academy, about how, with her help, the minister of defense had been selflessly mastering the Ukrainian language for half a year (three hours, three times a week), I finally realized that we have an intelligent and open-minded statesman who is truly devoted to Ukraine. [interview ends]

Meanwhile....

In accordance with the directive issued by Colonel General Kostyantyn Morozov, all main administrations of the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff are busy composing an expert analysis of whether it is expedient to leave within Ukraine's Armed Forces 19 strategic bombers TU-160 and 22 strategic bombers TU-95 that are presently stationed at the airfields in Pryluky and Uzyn. As the legacy left by the Soviet Army, they, on the one hand, seem to be contrary to our military doctrine, as carriers of nuclear cruise missiles. However, on the other hand, even taking into account the difficulties of their technical maintenance due to the refusal by Russian plants to service them, they may be functional until the year 2010.

The experience of the hasty withdrawal of tactical weapons from the territory of Ukraine to Russia leads our military leadership to believe that, given the present complicated external and internal conditions, we must not be in a hurry to give up any combat-ready type of weaponry, including offensive weapons. Besides, the Russian Ministry of Defense categorically refuses to exchange, on a "barter" basis, our TU-160 and TU-95 for other types of aircraft or any other military technology.

This leads to the assumption that the high command of the Ukrainian Army will decide to leave 22 TU-95 strategic bombers, which are particularly reliable as far as maintenance is concerned, in our arsenal. They will be equipped with nonnuclear cruise missiles with a range of 500 kilometers. These missiles are presently being created at one of the Dnipropetrovsk plants.

The TU-160 aircraft that have technological deficiencies will be used as nonferrous metal scrap.

National Affairs

Government 'Looks Forward To Restoring State Planning'

WS1509084693 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Government officials, directors of state departments, and heads of local administrations held a meeting with the Cabinet of Ministers today. The meeting, chaired by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, was devoted to the concept of social and economic development and the 1994 Ukrainian state budget.

It was emphasized that the deteriorating economic situation requires state control over social and economic activities. In connection with that, the government looks forward to restoring state planning of social and economic development in Ukraine. Production and deliveries for state requirements, as well as state procurements, are important factors of such a plan. It was underlined that restoration of state planning does not mean a return to directed planning and does not contradict the government strategy of transition to a free-market economy, since government influence on enterprises, of any property status, is usually implemented by economic and legal measures provided by appropriate legislative acts. [passage indistinct]

Cabinet Approves Statute on Land Monitoring

AU1409134093 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 9 Sep 93 p 11

[Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers Decree No. 661 on Adopting the "Statute on Land Monitoring" and text of the "Statute on Land Monitoring" issued on 20 August]

[Text] Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers decrees as follows:

1. To approve the subjoined Statute on Land Monitoring.
2. To determine that work on introducing land monitoring will be financed from that part of the state budget that covers allocations on land reform implementation and from that part of local budgets that covers payments for land.

L. Kuchma, Ukraine's prime minister

V. Nesmikh, first deputy minister of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers

Statute on Land Monitoring

1. In accordance with Ukraine's Land Code, land monitoring is a system for monitoring the condition of the land fund, including lands situated in zones of radioactive contamination, in order to reveal, in time, changes in their condition and to assess them, so that the consequences of negative processes can be prevented or eliminated.

The entire land fund, irrespective of the forms of land ownership, is an object of land monitoring.

2. Depending on the specific territories, the following land monitoring will be conducted:

- global—associated with international scientific-technological programs;
- national—covers the entire territory of Ukraine;
- regional—on territories that are characterized by identical physico-geographic, ecological, and economic conditions;
- local—on territories below regional level to territories of individual land areas and elementary structures of landscape-ecological complexes.

3. Land monitoring amounts to systematic observations of the condition of land (surveying, examination, and search), detection of changes, and assessment of the following factors:

- the state of utilization of areas of economic significance, fields, and plots of land;
- processes associated with changes in the fertility of soil (the development of water and wind-related erosion, the loss of humus, the deterioration of soil structure, swamping, and salinization), with overgrowing [with weeds] of agricultural areas, and with contamination of land with pesticides, heavy metals, radioactive nuclides, and other toxic substances;
- the state of shorelines of rivers, seas, lakes, bays, water reservoirs, estuaries, and hydrotechnical structures;
- processes associated with the formation of ravines and faults, with mud streams and earthquakes, and with karst, cryogenic, and other phenomena;
- the state of the land in populated areas, territories where oil and gas-extraction facilities, purification structures, dung-pits, storages of fuel and lubricating materials and fertilizers, automobile parking lots, places of burial of toxic industrial waste and radioactive materials, and other industrial facilities are located.

Observations about the condition of the land, depending upon their duration and periodicity, are divided into the following categories:

- basic (assessment of the state of the objects of observation at the beginning of the implementation of land monitoring);
- periodic (every year or less frequently);
- operational (to detect current changes).

4. The state of the land fund is evaluated by analyzing a number of consecutive observations and comparing the results.

5. The informational provision of land monitoring is composed of data that are necessarily sufficient to enable an objective evaluation of the situation, its modelling and forecasting.

6. The implementation of land monitoring is the responsibility of the State Committee for Land with the participation of the Ministry of Nature, Ministry of Agricultural Products, Ukrainian Academy of Agrarian Sciences, the National Space Agency, and other interested ministries and departments.

7. An automated information system forms the basis for the technological provision of the monitoring.

8. Information obtained during observations on the state of the land fund will be generalized for areas, towns, oblasts, the Crimean Republic, and also for individual natural complexes and will be fed to automated information system centers of oblast, Kiev, and Sevastopol city administrations of land resources and of the Committee for Land Resources and Land Reform of the Crimean Republic.

Reports, predictions, and recommendations will be compiled on the basis of the results of evaluation of the state of the land fund. They will be submitted to organs of local and regional self-government and to the State Committee for Land, which will take measures in order to prevent and eliminate the consequences of negative processes.

Energy Outlook Detailed; 3d Chernobyl Block To Open

WS1409141193 Lvov POST-POSTUP in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 13 Sep 93

[Text] A news conference by V. Kalynyuk, first deputy to the presidential representative in Lvov Oblast, was broadcast on Lvov Television on 10 September. V. Kalynyuk briefed reporters on the issue of power supplies to Ukraine discussed during the 9 September Cabinet of Ministers meeting.

According to V. Kalynyuk, Ukrainian oil producing companies surpassed planned output by 10 percent. Ukraine is going to receive 4 million tonnes of oil from Russia in the near future and an additional 13 million by the end of 1993. Ukraine has transferred 59 billion rubles [R] to the accounts of the Tyumen Oil Complex; an additional R110 billion should be paid by the end of 1993. We are currently expecting the delivery of 2 million tonnes of oil from Tyumen.

Some 2 billion tonnes of natural gas have been stored in Lvov Oblast reservoirs. As of today, a tonne of gas costs $55 and is expected to cost $80 by the end of 1993.

In August, Russia shipped to Ukraine 5,000 cubic meters of wooden props, but demand was for 7,700.

It has been decided to bring into operation the third block at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, which will help save 3.3 million tonnes of coal.

Candidates To Replace Kuchma Considered

MK1409115893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Sep 93 p 3

[Vladimir Skachko report under the "Ukraine" rubric: "Kuchma Is Gone. Long Live... Kuchma? A Sluggish Search for Candidates for the Prime-Ministership Under Way in Republic"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Today, deputies were left with a [economic] program by Leonid Kuchma and Viktor Pinzenik, which the parliamentarians appear to have criticized for economic reasons. In his program the prime minister offers the old model for the Ukrainian economy: market transformations under tight government control, restructuring coupled with the maintenance of old economic ties, and the introduction of a power-saving regime and restrictions on credit creation. Presently there is hardly anyone in Ukraine who would venture to offer a different program without running the risk of being accused of being a communist or capitalist.

Today, there is a lull in parliament. There is talk, however, about the post of prime minister. First, they say that Leonid Kuchma's resignation application does not mean anything, and he could return if the parliament accepts his conditions. This turn of events is likely, because it is objectively beneficial for Leonid Kuchma, who will thus be able to remain active in politics, and for the deputies, who will not have to haggle over a new candidate. However, Leonid Kuchma, offended by his opponents, will hardly agree to stay on.

Other names have also been mentioned. These are presidential representatives in Lvov Oblast—Stepan Davimuka, in Nikolayev Oblast—Anatoliy Kinakh, and in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast—Pavel Lazarenko. The first candidate is Rukh's man, and the other two are former people's deputies. They have been tipped as candidates for a similar reason—they do at least something in their oblasts to stabilize the economy.

Some of the deputies also mention Parliamentary Speaker Ivan Plyushch, but in his case one should bear in mind that he himself flatly rejected such offers last fall. In short, it is too early to say something definite, but one thing is clear: Ukraine's new prime minister should be virtually the ideal statesman—ready to run risks and able to work hard, and one who commands confidence among the population and who suits parties at both ends of the political spectrum. The last condition is fairly problematic. It is quite likely that those are right who say that there will be efficient authority in Ukraine only when the powers that be have nothing to enrich themselves with at the expense of old state assets and have to create new property. So far, however, there is still something left to misappropriate in Ukraine.

Press Service on Rukh Leader's Comments on Kravchuk

AU1509115493 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 14 Sep 93 p 3

[Statement by the Ukrainian Presidential Press Service issued in Kiev; date not given: "Esteem Cannot Be Achieved Through Gossip"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Presidential Press Service has given the mass media the following material:

Lately, some organs of the press, first and foremost, of a neighboring state, have been actively spreading various rumors to obviously discredit the Ukrainian president. Now there is talk of personal dachas allegedly built in Switzerland and mythical ties with a well-known Texan multi-millionaire to whom all licenses for oil deliveries to Ukraine are to be sold or other frightening things.

Of course, lies are short-lived, and there was, perhaps, no need to pay attention to such insinuations. However, one cannot help feeling surprised that some prominent Ukrainian political figures are also trying to contribute to this dirty affair.

For example, at a recent news conference, Chairman of Ukraine's People's Rukh [Movement for Perestroyka] V. Chornovil resorted to repeating before the audience gossip that he had derived from Russian newspapers, in particular, regarding the "Siabeco" Company and also about mysterious commercial transactions abroad with which the Ukrainian president has absolutely nothing in common.

Moreover, the people's deputy turned to the correspondents with a request to make this gossip public in our country, something that has already been done by the newspaper NEZAVISIMOST, which has long been known by its orientation toward denigrating the Ukrainian president. It is true, though, that it did not make references to Russian colleagues, but to Chairman of Ukraine's People's Rukh Vyacheslav Chornovil himself....

In this connection, we would like to recall a rule that is well known in civilized society: If one wants to accuse somebody of illegal actions, he must turn to corresponding law-enforcement organs.

Yet another thing is well known from history: The use of fabrications as a method of political struggle has never led to success because it only makes normal people feel contempt and disgust.

UNA-UNSO Sees Itself as Leading Opposition Force

AU1409165793 Kiev UKRAYINSKI OBRIYI in Ukrainian No. 14 (23), Sep 93 p 2

["UNA-UNSO, Ukrainian Nationalist Assembly-Ukrainian People's Self-Defense, Communique" issued in Kiev on 22 August 1993]

[Text] The UNA-UNSO activity differs from the activity of other political parties and public organizations in that it is activity and not demagogy.

UNA-UNSO is a form of peoples' self-organization when the state is incapable of fulfilling its inherent functions.

The emergence of such organizations is a natural phenomenon in all countries that are under territorial threat, are situated in politically unstable regions, or experience an internal crisis.

All Ukraine's neighbor states have organizations similar to UNSO, the difference being that there they get every support from the authorities.

The social protection role of UNA-UNSO is becoming increasingly significant, as well as its cooperation with strike committees, free trade unions, public organizations for social protection, farmers' associations, and so on.

Only in UNA-UNSO do the working people see a defender against the administration's arbitrariness and the plundering of the state by mafioso structures.

It is those who take capital out of Ukraine, who ensure that this process remains uncontrolled, the fifth column of Ukraine's geopolitical competitors, as well as those who service them who see an enemy in UNA-UNSO.

UNA-UNSO is pursuing an active external policy. The UNSO participation in the defense of the Dniester Region contributed to a reorientation of moods prevailing among the Dniester Region population in favor of Ukraine, despite the short-sighted and harmful policy pursued by the Ukrainian government.

Political contacts between UNA, on the one hand, and that republic's public formations and state structures, on the other, have a positive influence on the processes in the Dniester Region.

The assistance rendered to Georgia in its struggle for territorial integrity against Moscow imperialism has created preconditions for conducting Ukrainian policy in the Caucasus and has reduced the probability of an armed conflict in the Crimea.

UNA-UNSO has always paid attention to the educational aspect of its activity, because it sees its main task as building an active, efficient, and intelligent nation. The Caucasian lesson was a lesson of heroism for all Ukrainians and prodded them to an active search for national interests in near and distant foreign countries. Ukraine's potential adversaries realize that Ukraine has forces capable of struggling and achieving victories.

Lately, UNA-UNSO activity has been widely covered by the mass media. Political figures and public organizations find it necessary to determine their attitude toward it. If a country's president, in an interview for state television, devotes more than 10 minutes to the activity of a public organization, this means he must recognize its outstanding role in that state's political life.

Today, one can state without doubt that UNA-UNSO has occupied the position of leading opposition force in Ukraine. It will come to power soon.

Pro-Soviet Rally Held in Simferopol 12 Sep

LD1409161493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 14 Sep 93

[Text] About 15 political parties and movements of radical pro-Soviet and procommunist orientation were behind a rally staged in Simferopol, Crimea's capital city, on Sunday, 12 September. The rally's participants proclaimed it a conference and called for Crimea's independence first, then for its Russian jurisdiction, and eventually for the former Soviet Union's galvanization within its entire geopolitical space. The rally conference elected delegates to a congress of the peoples of the USSR, to be convened in Moscow on 12 September [date as heard] and aimed at the USSR's restoration.

Statistics Ministry Reports Figures on Harvesting

WS1409143693 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Statistics Ministry reported that as of 6 September 1993, Ukrainian farms had practically completed the harvest of grain-crops and leguminous plants, except for corn. Some 40.2 million tonnes of grain was threshed, up 4.5 tonnes from last year. The crop capacity of one hectare was 35.2 centners, 5.1 metric centners higher than last year. Twenty oblasts reported higher grain yields, which run at 41.1 to 45.5 centners in Kiev, Ternopil, Khmelnytskyy, Cherkasy, and Chernivtsi Oblasts. Bread bakeries have received 13 million tonnes of grain. The state procurement plan has been 89-percent completed, up 2.9 million tonnes, or 29 percent, in the last year. Twelve oblasts are running behind their procurement schedules, including the Crimean Republic and the largest farms in Zaporizhzhya, Kherson, and Odessa Oblasts. The pace of potato harvesting remains low, while that of vegetables is almost at last year's level. Sugar beets are collected in 17 oblasts, and sunflowers in seven oblasts. The sowing of winter crops is more organized than last year. As of 1 September, farms in the Crimea and all the oblasts, except for Kirovohrad Oblast, were supplied with winter crop seeds. Fall plowing is completed on one-sixth the amount of planned land.

Miners Demand Reinstatement of Referendum

PM1409161793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Maksyuk report: "Is There Enough Coal in Donbass To Fuel Passions This Fall?"]

[Text] Public opinion is a capricious thing. Just a month or two ago people standing in line in Donetsk spoke scathingly of "those crooks the miners who are never satisfied." They have stopped saying that now. Ukraine bitterly endured both the June price upheaval and the 200,000-strong strike it triggered. And it paid for this short breathing space with wildly rocketing inflation and the decision to hold a referendum 26 September on confidence in the president and the parliament. Its result was predictable, which indeed killed off the referendum, which was buried with pomp and style.

All this hullabaloo has proved yet again that the authorities in Ukraine possess a unique inability to see the consequences of their fateful decisions. The attitude of the Donetsk strike committee was quite clear—the referendum must go ahead. Miners' representatives argued long with the people's elected representatives in Kiev to persuade them not to step on the rake. But they failed and, expressing contempt for this venture, returned to Donetsk. No one budged an inch, and an autumn nightmare descended on Ukraine. In September prices took off again and no one can say at the moment how high they will go. There is talk of a 10-fold increase, and if that happens the new minimum wage of 20,000 karbovantsy will barely buy 15 loaves of bread. Will people then continue just to grit their teeth and strain every sinew?

The stubborn contempt for the miners' political demands makes you think that the Ukrainian president has another ace up his sleeve. What might it be?

"We have received information from a competent enough source at the Defense Ministry," Mikhail Krylov, leader of the Donetsk strike committee, said, "that Kravchuk is ready to use the army to resolve the problem of the restless Donbass."

The heady days when the Ukrainian president might have been forgiven for taking draconian measures have long since passed. As is often the case, the last to learn about this was Leonid Makarovich himself. But when he did his actions were completely illogical—he turned his back on southeast Ukraine, the area which helped him gain the presidency.

The miners did not take offense at the president for that but are simply telling him openly that it is time for him to go. And if necessary they are prepared to organize a noisy send-off. In Makeyevka on 2 September there was a conference of representatives of 16 mining associations from Donetsk and Lugansk Oblasts which discussed the actions the miners might take if parliament does not change its decision on the referendum. A sizeable "arsenal" has been made ready. It includes such measures as stopping the mines, picketing highways, banks, and state institutions, propaganda marches across Ukraine, and a miners' march on the capital.

Editor Lists Factors Believed To Oppose Monetary Reform

AU1409133293 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 9 Sep 93 pp 1,2

[Commentary by Serhiy Pravdenko, HOLOS UKRAYINY editor-in-chief: "Ukraine Is a Blessed Land. For Foreigners, or For Whom Monetary Reform Is Disadvantageous"]

[Text] The exchange rate of the coupon relative to the freely convertible currency that has increased by several hundred percent over the period of the activity of L. Kuchma's government (despite the fact that the government had special powers for one-half a year) is creating wonderful conditions for guests of Ukraine and for other foreign citizens visiting our state.

Indeed! They may buy one kilogram of top-quality fresh meat at the Kiev Bessarabka market for practically $1 or $1.50, one kilogram of sugar for a few dozen cents, and a ticket to the Kiev Opera for 10 cents. All of this is incomparable with the prices of the same things in the West. A foreigner may buy a valuable icon, a picture, or other valuables from our citizen for copecks.

In his interview for our newspaper in April 1993, [Prime Minister] Leonid Kuchma said that the exchange rate of the coupon relative to the freely convertible currency was a result of actions by some almost mystical internal and external forces. Time goes on. However, nobody, so far, has done anything to reveal those forces and restrain them. On the contrary, the rate has skyrocketed even further. At the same time, a country's monetary system is like oxygen for its economy. It is, therefore, little wonder that our economy has one foot in the grave.

It is clear that the economy will not emerge from its present state on the back of the coupon. The hryvnya was delivered to Ukraine long ago. Considerable capital was spent on printing it. In hard currency. What is then the problem? Who hampers the monetary reform? Who will fail to profit from it? According to economists (supporters and activists of the Ukrainian Labor Congress Party), monetary reform is not to the advantage of the following forces:

a) the government, which feels that it is temporary and which has not come in order to extricate the economy from the crisis, but to somehow do something, while waiting to see where the lame horse is going to take it. While this horse is on its way, it is possible to resolve the personal problems of the cabinet members. Such a government does not need monetary reform, because it is too much trouble;

b) monetary reform is also disadvantageous for commercial banks and other commercial structures that have learned how to profit from the exchange rate and thus accumulate capital. I am not saying this out of an ill-fated class hatred for these structures, but I am just stating a fact. In the given case, it is the duty of the legislative and executive powers to see to it that these structures follow the other rules of the game. Just as;

c) also certain functional structures and some forces in the nearby foreign countries will not profit from monetary reform;

d) nor is it of any advantage to those who have some appreciable sums of freely convertible currency in their possession. Because they can now purchase everything they want for almost nothing.

In particular, emissaries with cash and hard-currency accounts are already heading for villages where they smell the harvest and a profit, in order to buy up Ukrainian grain at a very cheap price. A part of it will later return to us in the form of humanitarian aid. Meanwhile, we, having lost our grain and other things, under the skillful guidance of certain forces, will march into the "economic union." We are expected there, of course, to be given food, heat, and clothing.... Oh, those illusions.... At the same time, everything that belongs to us is bought up with coupons, which will soon cost less than the paper on which they are printed. For whom else is monetary reform unprofitable? It is not difficult to come to conclusions.

Military Pilots Ask Morozov To Save Aviation Corps

AU1409133093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 9 Sep 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Reform or Destruction?"]

[Text] Military pilots of the Uzyn garrison turned to Ukraine's minister of defense with a request to immediately take measures to halt the collapse of the long-range aviation group stationed there. Uzyn pilots were the first in the long-range aviation field to swear allegiance to the Ukrainian people. They prevented Moscow generals from transferring aircraft to Russia. However, the heroes of the "Uzyn mutiny" General Bashkirov and Colonel Kuznetsov have been dismissed from their posts and the process of conversion that envisaged the use of military transport aviation for the needs of the national economy has been stopped. Instead, a corps of heavy aircraft is being hastily formed. The best specialists are being dismissed, and the aircraft fleet is becoming unsupervised. As follows from the sad experience of the aviation garrisons in Bila Tserkva, Stryy, and Nizhyn, this may lead to the collapse of the aviation formation and mass unemployment among pilots.

Moldova

Russian Commander Wins Election With 87.5% of Vote

AU1509065493 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 0922 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 14/9/1993—Yesterday, General Lebed, Commander of the 14th Army, Russian citizen, gained 87.5 percent of voting during supplementary elections to the Supreme Soviet of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic. Together with other three candidates, Lebed was proposed by the Tkachenko electoral district of Tiraspol. In this district, 76 percent of electors took part; this was the highest percentage among four electoral districts. The rivals of General Lebed, Andrey Safonov, director of the OLVIA-PRESS AGENCY, Aleksandr Radchenko, chief-editor of the Tiraspol radio, and Boris Belokopytov, Cossack chieftain, left the elections with 6 percent, 3 percent and 1 percent accordingly.

Foreign Ministry Protests Election

LD1509105793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1014 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, 15 Sep—The Moldovan Foreign Ministry today issued a statement which describes the election of Lieutenant General Aleksandr Lebed, the commander of Russia's 14th Army, as a deputy for the Dniester region as crude interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. The participation of a commander of foreign armed forces, which are temporarily on Moldovan territory, in elections to unconstitutional bodies is described in the document as an attempt at de facto recognition of the Dniester region by certain forces in Russia, and also as a demonstration of the Russian side's reluctance to withdraw its Army from the left bank republic.

The statement expresses regret and concern over the fact that the Russian side has not responded to the many notes and protests over Lt. Gen. Lebed's ill-considered actions. The Moldovan Foreign Affairs Ministry hopes that the Russian Federation Government will take the necessary measures to stop this provocative action which threatens stability in the republic's eastern regions, as well as the good relations between two countries.

Parliament 'Bogged Down' in Debate Over Dissolution

MK1509101493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Sep 93 p 3

[Anatoliy Tago report under "Moldova" rubric: "Parliament Meets in Session. The Majority Insists That It Must Be the Last"]

[Text] The session of the Moldovan parliament which opened on 14 September became a kind of continuation of the previous emergency session. A month ago the deputies left for their constituencies after quarreling and failing to resolve any of the issues raised. The cause was the discussion of the question of ratifying the Almaty agreements on joining the CIS. The opposition rejected it decisively, and the majority of deputies representing agricultural interests favoring consolidation of economic links within the CIS framework fell four votes short of adopting a positive decision.

That became the final straw that broke the back of the patience of representatives, the majority of whom in the past two years have been locked in an implacable struggle with the opposition. The majority walked out of the hall with one condition: They will return only after a decision is made to dissolve parliament, adopt an election law, and fix a date for early elections. They believe that it is impossible to keep on putting up with the situation in which parliament postpones urgent political problems and attends to routine matters. Each of the past sessions of the current legislative body has left unresolved up to 50 or 70 items on its agenda. The parliamentary leadership also supported the dissolution idea. Even Speaker Petru Luchinschi, who six months ago took the helm of the sinking parliamentary ship and sincerely believed in the restoration of the legislative body, seems to have finally lost his faith. At sessions of parliamentary factions he openly spoke about the need to hold early elections.

Nonetheless, the opposition, which has split into four factions, is not going to give up its position easily. Representatives of the People's Front, the Intellectuals Congress, the Democratic Party, and the Democratic Labor Party, though not very numerous, are setting forth a number of categoric conditions and blocking the passage of decisions amenable to the majority. The opposition is proposing the adoption of a package of legislative acts without which, in its opinion, it is impossible to talk about holding new elections. This includes a law on administrative and territorial structures, local elections, introducing amendments to the election law on a multiparty basis, and a law on parties. They insist on holding a discussion on the problem of the legal status of the Dniestr region and the Gagauz-populated settlement areas. Obviously, this proposal is not motivated by a desire to truly address these complicated issues, but is only made to delay the date for holding new elections and to gain time. It is known that opposition representatives do not currently enjoy popularity and can in no way count on success should elections be held.

Parliament has repeatedly tried to resolve the problems brought up by the opposition, but it was precisely representatives of the People's Front who have effectively blocked all proposals on the status of the Dniestr region and the Gagauz-populated settlement areas. Now Chishinau has no draft laws on the two most acute problems and no preparatory work has been done. Tiraspol and Komrat are not closing the doors on

negotiations but nor are they taking any counter steps. At the recent celebration of the anniversary of the formation of the self-proclaimed Dniestr Moldovan Republic, the intention was reaffirmed to build its own statehood and to consent to preserve a single Moldova only on the principles of a federation or confederation.

Gagauz leaders, who at last week's Supreme Soviet session approved a draft federation treaty within the framework of the former Moldovan SSR, have also taken a similar position. Chishinau's officialdom has not accepted such proposals for discussion, and therefore the leaders of separatist formations are trying to resolve their own problems. In this situation the Moldovan parliament has nothing to do but to admit its own shortsightedness and the mistakes made and take the last courageous step which the people could appreciate—to leave the political arena with dignity, making room for new political forces. This was the subject of discussion at the Tuesday [14 September] session by representatives of agricultural producers.

Even so, as has often been the case before, the Moldovan legislative body at the resumed session has again bogged down in fruitless debates about the agenda, failing to approve it at two morning sessions. It seems that the statement by Speaker Luchinschi opening the session to the effect that parliament will be able to pull itself together at the critical moment were an obvious exaggeration. Only the session's subsequent work will show what things will be like.

CI Official on Agenda

AU1509065793 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 0922 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 14/9/1993—The introduction of changes to the law on state budget and the elaboration of the work plan for the National Bank are the acute problems to be debated in parliament, stated to BASA Valeriu Matei, speaker of the Congress of Intelligentsia [CI]. In case the law on the election system is discussed, "this question must follow only after the law about parties and political movements which do not suit international rules is changed," said Matei. The law about the elections can be examined only after the one about territorial-administrative division is approved, he added. He appreciated the present Presidency as a "secretion of the current parliament," Matei pleaded for changes to the law regulating elections of the president. The problem of ratifying the CIS Agreement cannot be inserted into the agenda because very short time elapsed since the parliament rejected it. This problem should pass the stage of examination in parliamentary commissions, stated the representative of the Congress of Intelligentsia.

FPCD Leader on Economic Issues

AU1509114293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 0922 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 14/9/1993—During the tomorrow's session of Parliament, the executive must present a new program of managing the economy taking into consideration that Moldova is not member of CIS. Without presenting such a program the Snegur-Sangheli government will [word indistinct] stated Iurie Rosca, chairman of the Christian-Democratic Popular Front [FPCD]. Rosca said that tomorrow the session would basically examine corruption and illegal privatization of national patrimony. The Parliament is going to analyse national currency. Rosca alleged that after discussing these questions they must adopt local and then general legislation concerning the election system. Referring to the opportunity to organise manifestations of protest in Chisinau, Rosca said he was informed about a meeting organised by the Federation of Independence Trade Unions.

Gagauz Region Pledges 'Total Attachment' to CIS

AU1509101993 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 0922 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 14/9/1993—Chisinau power structures, wasting their force in internal political battles, are unable to solve the problem of separatism. In this situation the leaders of self-proclaimed republics on Moldova's territory coordinate their efforts to explore new political opportunities to promote their interests. The evolution of events in Russia and in some former Soviet republics affected by separatism proves forecasts of political analysts about the tendency to create coalitions between the self-proclaimed states. And Moldova is not an exception. The recent session of the Gagauz parliament approved the project of "Agreement on Moldova's Federalization" in its first reading. The project will be approved with new amendments at the joint session of Tiraspol and Comrat parliaments in the closest future. According to this project, Moldova is declared "equal in rights with the Moldovan Dniester Republic and Gagauz Republic, and will be federalized and recognized as a new administrative and territorial basis. [no end quotation marks as received] The Gagauz Supreme Soviet entitled a commission to work out the project of the new Gagauz Constitution. The draft will include the agreement on Moldova's federalization. Gagauz deputies were more efficient compared to the Moldovan ones who are more concerned about their political survival. They approved the law on languages spoken in Gagauzia which declares "Russian, Gagauz and Moldovan (Romanian-BASA)" as languages of communication. Also, they approved the law about fundamentals of local self- administration. According to this law and to the decision of the Supreme Soviet, elections in local administration bodies of the self-proclaimed republic will be organized on November 21st. Politically

speaking, this will mean cancellation of the current districtual soviets subordinated to Chisinau. Before the session was closed, Gagauz deputies approved a declaration about their total attachment to CIS. "The Gagauz Republic is will to become an independent subject of the Community of Independent States with the right to sign documents of adherence to CIS," says the declaration. Chisinau authorities react anemically and overlook the activities of the Gagauz parliament. Only the Government's press service announces with delay its protests against a too much and favourable attention for separatists in the Moscow press. It calls the latest events in Komrat "a direct result of the recent illegal visit of a group of Russian deputies to Tiraspol." On the other hand, the service of political analysis and public opinion of the Moldovan Parliament's secretariat told the reporters that the government, Parliament and the president made no statement concerning decisions of the Gagauz parliament. Therefore, the declarations of some statesmen should not be regarded as official ones. According to the head of the service, this fact can be explained as a tactical method not to respond to provocations of self-proclaimed republics, or Moldovan power structures did not reach a consensus in this problem. Some analysts show the difficult situation of the Moldovan leadership that should take an attitude for the Gagauzis' option—an option which was and still is promoted by the Moldovan leadership whether it wants it or not.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Receives Strobe Talbott, Others

LD1409140293 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] On 12 September, Nursultan Nazarbayev received at his residence Talbott, U.S. ambassador at large, and a number of high-ranking officials from different departments of the U.S. Administration who have arrived in Almaty.

The head of state and visitors from beyond the ocean had a sincere and constructive discussion about the current situation and the prospects for Kazakhstan-U.S. cooperation. Talbott announced that the leadership of his country is open to the high level contacts and appropriate preparatory work has to be carried out provided there is common consent.

Talking about the priority spheres for bilateral cooperation, the sides emphasized the available possibilities for cooperation in the economic sphere. Also under discussion were regional problems of mutual interest.

In general, the president agreed with the suggestions made by guests in this connection and emphazised that they now have to be turned into deeds.

Nurtay Abykayev, head of the presidential apparatus; State Councillor Toulegen Zhukeyev, Foreign Minister Tuleutay Suleymenov; Alibek Kasymov, first deputy defense minister and chief of the headquarters of this ministry, and U.S. Ambassador to Kazakhstan William Courtney also attended the meeting.

Skilled Nuclear Experts Leaving Republic

PM1409113393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 93 p 2

[Report by Dmitriy Gutenev: "Nuclear Scientists Leaving Mangyshlak. Unique Reactor Could End Up on the Street"]

[Text] Aktau—The BN-350 fast-neutron nuclear reactor in Aktau has been operating trouble free in industrial mode for 20 years. It provides the city with electricity and heat and also functions as a desalination plant. And we are not just talking about the reliability of the reactor design. It is maintained by highly skilled nuclear specialists, but Kazakhstan could soon be deprived of this unique facility. The same fate lies in store for the republic's equally rare "Kaskor" joint-stock company's production operations—first and foremost, enrichment of uranium ore and extraction of scandium and rare-earth elements.

The reasons are not technical at all. They are organizational, personnel reasons. People employed in these sectors are leaving the peninsula. They are trying to find a place as quickly as possible on the "mainland," above all in Russia. I was told that railroad staff are already receiving applications for next year for containers to carry household effects.

I have a document in front of me. It is a letter from the leaders of the energy combine, the "Kaskor" joint-stock company, the "Akpo" joint-stock company (plastics plant), and the Caspian Construction Administration to the oblast and city administration chiefs. It presents an analysis of the worrying trend and measures to halt it. The breakup of the Union and the subsequent disruption of economic links, financial confusion, and banking chaos brought capacities to a partial or total stop. This led to a reduction in the number of highly skilled specialists. And since there are no or extremely few facilities of this kind in Kazakhstan, people are forced to seek work in other republics. There are only a few people left at the energy combine capable of keeping the reactor going. One in five working people has left the "Kaskor" joint-stock company. The picture is the same with the chemists and construction workers. Of course, these figures include working people who are wandering from one enterprise to another because of the unstable levels of pay, and those who have set up their own businesses. But three-fourths of those who left "Kaskor" left to go to another locality.

"Every day I sign several requests for the transfer of dividends to new addresses," company president Gennadiy Isakov said. "People are leaving if they will lose less by finding a job somewhere else—30-40-year-olds mainly. And we cannot get equivalent people to replace them. Personnel turnover here has exceeded 32 percent. Average skills have fallen to fourth class, although one year ago they were an entire class higher."

There was nothing to compare with the Mangyshlak region either economically or socially in the former Union. It was formed by the entire state's economic and intellectual might. Even today its products are geared to the foreign market. It can and must provide the young state with substantial hard currency earnings. The writers of the letter believe that the exodus of specialists must be halted. But they are nearly all people who have come in from outside, who have not yet put down roots. To establish these roots a special republic program is needed, envisaging the solution of the widest range of problems.

In economic terms this means priority funding for enterprises, reduced payments to the republic budget, and a relaxation of the rules governing quotas and licenses for products produced in Aktau. According to city administration chief Nikolay Bayev, Kazkahstan's requirements as far as plastics are concerned currently stand at the level of 8,000 tonnes, while the plant's capacity is 200,000. But because of the economic chaos it is not operating at full capacity, and if it produces more it will be unable to sell it because of obstacles in the licensing sphere and nonpayments.

The privatization of trade facilities has led to the appearance of hundreds of small private enterprises, but none of

the private stores or stalls has anything aside from "Snickers," "Royale," and a few standard items. The city is still provided with bread, meat, vegetables, potatoes, and other essential items by the former workers' supply administration of the the "Kaskor" joint-stock company. The transformation of this workers' supply administration into a joint-stock company has only made trade services worse. Now it needs preferential credits of 10 billion rubles [R] to buy truck garden produce to lay in for the winter, but there is no question of any preference. The bank interest rate is extortionate, according to Bayev. So prices in Aktau are mind-boggling.

Another group of problems relates to the political sphere. No, emotions are not riding high in Mangyshlak. There are members of more than 40 nationalities living peacefully here. But the actions of politicians are introducing an element of uncertainty about the future. Nuclear specialists have not been trained in Kazakhstan, they have come from Russia, Ukraine, and other republics. The "Kaskor" joint-stock companmy alone has been getting 50 young people with higher education and 100 with secondary specialized education every year. For various reasons, including economic (too expensive) and psychological (they do not want to go to another republic), the training of natives is fraught with problems at the moment. At the same time, there are considerable difficulties when it comes to inviting what are now foreign specialists—obtaining a quota for them from immigration departments, a lack of social and legal guarantees. What is more, you have to pay hard currency for them to come.

Those who have worked here for several years are now unsure whether they will be able to go home in the future on attaining pensionable age. Kazakhstan legislation specifies that Kazakhs, wherever they live at the moment, in Turkey or Belarus, will obtain citizenship after they come to the republic. If a Russian [rossiyanin], whoever he might be, Yakut or ethnic Russian [russkiy], were to have that right, many would not be packing their bags. So far it has been announced that all those wishing to obtain Russian citizenship must declare themselves before March 1994. So they want to be in time and are abandoning things they have spent years on. No matter whom you speak to in Aktau, they all believe that an intergovernmental agreement is required in order to give Russians the chance to freely return to their historic homeland with the right to have their property interests met and to obtain a suitable pension. This would stem the tide of immigration, which is rising in Mangyshlak.

Mangyshlak is the achievement and the property of all the republics of the former Union and it would not be in the interests of any of the commonwealth countries if it were to be put out of action, even for a few years.

Tajikistan

Strobe Talbott Holds News Conference in Dushanbe

LD1409152393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0300 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] The volume of humanitarian aid to Tajikistan from the United States will depend on the course of economic and political reforms and the observance of human rights and principles of democracy in this republic. This was stated at a news conference in Dushanbe by Strobe Talbott, President Clinton's personal representative. He paid a brief working visit to Tajikistan.

Meets Leaders, Comments on Aid

LD1409182893 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 1000 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Strobe Talbott, special representative of the U.S. President, paid a working visit to Dushanbe yesterday. Here is correspondent Tatyana Logunova:

[Logunova] Talbott yesterday met with Head of State Imamali Rakhmanov and with Council of Ministers Chairman Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov. New ways of developing mutually beneficial economic cooperation between the United States and Tajikistan was discussed during the course of the meeting.

Yesterday, as a result of the visit, an agreement between the governments of the two states on cooperation to accelerate the granting of U.S. aid was signed. The United States intends to render Tajikistan financial assistance declared Talbott. According to Talbott, the United States has already allocated $2.5 billion to former CIS republics [as heard], except Russia. The main condition of financing the former Soviet republics remains their political stability, which is a guarantee of security for U.S. capital investment. Observance of human rights is no less important as a requirement for investment.

As for our country, Talbott said that Tajikistan does not take first place in the human rights field among CIS countries. Speaking about the fundamentals of U.S. policy, the president's personal envoy informs us that the main indicators of expediency of economic partnership are democracy, human rights, regional peace, security, and stability. According to Talbott, all these concepts of the new era are closely linked. He said that Tajikistan was lagging behind in all these aspects.

Differences of opinion occurred on several issues during the course of bilateral negotiations, though they agreed on much when they spoke about the future.

The American side supports the basic progress of Tajikistan, which is directed to reconciliation of the two sides—that means dialogue with the opposition.

We, said Talbott, were very happy when we learned that Head of State Imamali Rakhmanov and other high-ranking Tajik officials agreed with us on the methods of reconciliation that will bring national concord.

Touching on economic aspects of relations between the United States and Tajikistan, the U.S. envoy considered that the money invested in the Tajik economy has to be used appropriately. Over the last few years of instability, the United States has rendered humanitarian assistance worth $43 million, consisting of medicine and food.

We, said the envoy, are ready to give, as far as possible, assistance in the future if Tajikistan will adhere to its chosen way, directed toward democratization. Speaking about the economic interests of the United States in Tajikistan, Talbott said that this country is rich in natural potential and human resources.

Administration Leader Comments on Gorno-Badakhshan

LD1409160393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1510 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent galina gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe September 14 TASS—"The Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous region remains an integral part of Tajikistan, and the Pamir inhabitants have never intended to raise arms against the central government," said Shodavlat Shodavlatov, deputy head of the Gorno-Badakhshan administration.

In an interview with the "VECHERNY DUSHANBE" daily, Shodavlatov described situation in the region, problems which had arisen with supplies delivery on the eve of the closure of the high-mountainous route for the winter.

Shodavlatov underscored the importance of reinforcing the Pamir strip of the Tajik-Afghan border, on which, in his opinion, the peace in Tajikistan entirely depends. Shodavlatov thanked the Russian border guards and noted that local young people had formed a battalion which could be of use in protecting the border.

Uzbekistan

Karimov Discusses Economy With Czech Visitors

AU1409165393 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 13 Sep 93 p 6

[CTK report: "Czech Streetcars and Trolley Buses Will Be Tested in Uzbekistan"]

[Excerpt] Tashkent—A Czech economic delegation headed by Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy, which is paying a visit to Uzbekistan, met with Uzbek President Islam Karimov on Friday [10 September]. Subsequently, it met with leading Uzbek financial experts. The main topic of talks was a mutual exchange of information on developments in the two republics.

While receiving the Czech delegation on Friday, the Uzbek president said that, in June and July 1993, the volume of industrial output in Uzbekistan was 11 percent higher than in the same period a year ago, which, in his words, testifies to the fulfillment of Uzbekistan's economic program of transition to the market economy. The program's main task is the creation of a mixed multi-sector economy, a competitive environment, and gradual price liberalization. The Republic's strategic plan is to establish a production network for the processing of farm produce into finished goods.

According to Islam Karimov, the republic has good conditions for nonferrous metallurgy, chemistry, machine building, and electrical engineering. The priority aim of agrarian policy is to utilize excess manpower in the industrial processing of agricultural crops. This will require the establishment of a new infrastructure, a network of communications and services. The production of a wide range of consumer goods has increased in Uzbekistan by more than 12 percent, compared with the same period a year ago. The proportion of finished goods in the total production volume has increased from 40 to 60 percent. The volume of cotton processed in Uzbekistan has increased considerably since 1990. The share of cotton fiber processing has increased from 10 to 16.5 percent. Processing capacities for fruit, vegetables, and other agricultural crops have been expanded.

This year, Uzbekistan will extract 44 billion cubic meters of natural gas and 4 million tonnes of crude oil and gas concentrate. Production of natural gas should reach 50 billion cubic meters and crude oil production 8 million tonnes by 1994. More than 150 km of railroads have been electrified in Uzbekistan in the last two years and it has been decided to build and reconstruct additional rail links.

The construction of a sugar refinery is planned and 125,000 tonnes of sugar annually should be produced by the year 1997. The export volume, which amounted to $667 million in 1991, should reach $1.5 billion this year.

Speaking about trade between the Czech Republic and Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov said that Czech products always enjoyed a good reputation in Uzbekistan and that Czech partners could always be relied upon. The president said, furthermore, that he had already ordered the purchase of four Czech-made streetcar trains and five trolley buses. If these samples acquit themselves well, Uzbekistan will be interested in further supplies. The Uzbek representative stressed that the two countries did not have any claims against one another.

Speaking about economic reforms in Uzbekistan and the Czech Republic, Islam Karimov said that individual reform steps may differ. He briefed the Czech delegation on the gist of Uzbekistan's economic program. [passage omitted]

President Issues Decree on Minimum Wage

LD1409133393 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov has issued a decree according to which the minimum wage level and untaxed minimum income of citizens in the Republic will be set at 13,500 rubles [R] a month. On the average, wages, pensions, benefits, and student grants have risen by a factor of 1.2. The minimum labor pension now amounts to R14,625. The 50-percent reduction for meals in student canteens has been maintained.

Armenia

President To Visit Moscow, Meet Yeltsin 15 Sep

NC1409153193 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1052 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Yerevan, 14 Sep (ARMENPRES)—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan will pay a brief working visit to Moscow tomorrow. He is expected to meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Further on Moscow Trip

LD1509083793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0647 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tagran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan September 15 TASS—President Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia left for Moscow on Wednesday [15 September] for a one-day working visit. He is to meet with President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation.

The leaders of the two states are expected to discuss matters aimed at further developing political and economic contacts between Russia and Armenia, regional problems, specifically ways for a political settlement of the Karabakh conflict within the CSCE framework.

Azerbaijani Troop Movements in Nakhichevan Reported

NC1409185093 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 0621 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Yerevan, 14 Sep (ARMENPRES)—The relative calm on the northern border of Armenia was disrupted last night and the day before. The armed formations in Kazakhskiy Rayon opened fire on the defensive positions near Kirants in Idzhevanskiy Rayon and Koti in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon. The Armenian fighters retaliated. There are no casualties on our side.

At the same time, the Azerbaijanis are conducting troop and military hardware movements all along the Armenia-Nakhichevan border.

The Armenian Defense Ministry press service also reported that a military helicopter belonging to Turkey conducted a reconnaissance flight over the 50-km Oktemberyanskiy sector of the Armenian-Turkish border during the day on 12 September.

The situation was relatively calm on the Armenian borders today.

President, Karabakh Leader Discuss Minsk, Other Talks

NC1409151093 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1443 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan today met Robert Kocharyan, chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] State Defense Committee, who is in Armenia on a working visit.

They discussed the results of the CSCE Minsk group's informal consultations in Moscow recently and the negotiations held between the NKR and Azerbaijani officials.

Azerbaijan

National Assembly Discusses CIS Membership

Aliyev Addresses Assembly Session

NC1409160993 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1300 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] The Azerbaijan National Assembly resumed its session on 14 September. The deputies will debate three items on the session's agenda. They are as follows:

- The results of the Azerbaijani delegation's visit to Moscow.
- Geydar Aliyev's talks with Russian officials and Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller.
- The talks Strobe Talbott, President Clinton's special envoy who arrived in Baku on 11 September, held in Azerbaijan.

In his first address to the parliament, Geydar Aliyev touched on the question of Azerbaijan joining the CIS collective security system and the CIS framework. Aliyev focused significant attention on the gradual removal of the armed dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan and the improvement of Azerbaijan's economic relations with the neighboring countries, mainly Russia, Turkey, and Iran.

Aliyev stressed that Russia is prepared to significantly improve its relations with Azerbaijan and broaden its mediation effort to have the dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan removed if Azerbaijan decides to become a CIS member. According to Aliyev, Russia is not satisfied with the present way the mutual agreements that were signed between the two sides in the past are being realized. He said: More serious documents may be signed in the talks Russia and Azerbaijan will have in the future.

Aliyev also stressed that the Russian Government proposed a summit in Moscow of the leaders of the three republics in the Caucasus. According to Aliyev, Azerbaijan does not [words indistinct]. He later said: While improving its relations with Russia, Azerbaijan will not allow its relations with Turkey and the United States to weaken.

According to Aliyev, Azerbaijan's parliament must quickly adopt a decision on the question of the Republic becoming a CIS member.

Regarding Azerbaijan's relations with Turkey, Aliyev briefed the deputies on his recent telephone conversations with President Suleyman Demirel and Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin. They informed Aliyev that Prime Minister Ciller will explain Ankara's official stand on the dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan to Russian officials when she visits Moscow and said that Ankara's stand can be summed up as follows: A ceasefire must be imposed, and all the occupied territories must be returned to Azerbaijan.

Further on Assembly Session

NC1409183693

[Editorial Report] Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri at 1331 GMT on 14 September begins a live transmission of the Azerbaijan National Assembly session. A statement by Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Geydar Aliyev is in progress.

Aliyev criticizes past policy of the Azerbaijan People's Front and says that he was the first to raise the flag of independent Azerbaijan and remove Soviet troops from Nakhichevan. He says accusations that he has changed sides from being a Soviet supporter to being a supporter of Azerbaijani independence are not true.

At 1335 GMT Baku television goes off the air until 1500 GMT, when State Secretary Lala Shovket Gadzhiyeva addresses the session in Russian. A deputy then reads the Russian text of the CIS charter.

Geydar Aliyev says that the National Assembly commissions have voted on the issue of joining the CIS and that there were differences of opinion, and hence no final decision was made at the Commission on the Establishment of Statehood and Legal Affairs. Former Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov, leader of the National Independence Party Etibar Mamedov, and leader of the People's Front Ibragim Ibragimov in that commission spoke against joining the CIS.

Aliyev then invites the chairman of the committee of martyrs' parents to address the session. In an emotional speech, she strongly attacks the People's Front and its members in the National Assembly before concluding that only Aliyev can save Azerbaijan.

At 1530 GMT Aliyev reminds the Assembly that the only item on the agenda is the results of the talks with the Russian and Turkish leaders in Moscow and with Strobe Talbott, adviser to the U.S. secretary of state for the newly independent republics. Instead, he says, the debate has centered on relations with and admission to the CIS. Aliyev argues that there is need for a detailed debate on the issue of admission to the CIS. He suggests that the debate be continued on Thursday [16 September] in view of the fact that "the issue of relations with the CIS is an important matter and there are differences of views." He proposes that in the meantime the CIS charter and the CIS collective security agreement be translated into Azeri so that deputies and people can read them. Parliament approves his proposal.

Then a deputy reads a resolution on the results of Aliyev's talks in Moscow. The resolution takes cognizance of the items discussed at the Moscow talks. The draft resolution says:

"Having heard the reports by Geydar Aliyev, who executes the powers of the Azerbaijani president, Deputy Prime Minister Abbasov and Foreign Minister Gasanov, who were members of the Azerbaijani delegation, the Azerbaijani National Assembly has decided that:

"1. The report by Geydar Aliyev, who is executing the powers of the president, and by the members of the delegation to the talks held with the Russian leaders in Moscow are taken into cognizance and the results and agreements concluded are approved.

"2. The establishment of the National Assembly's contact group with the Russian Supreme Soviet is considered mandatory.

"3. An application is to be submitted to the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly on the inclusion of the Azerbaijan National Assembly in the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly.

"4. The proposal on holding a meeting between the Russian, Azerbaijani, Georgian, and Armenian leaders is approved."

This proposal is adopted by a 35-6 vote as a foundation for further debate.

Next, a debate is opened on this resolution. Deputies put forward amendments to it. Tofik Gasymov argues that membership in the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly should be discussed together with membership in the CIS, so that point should be taken out of the resolution. Aliyev objects but then agrees after others, including Etibar Mamedov, support Gasymov's proposal. He puts the resolution with this new amendment to a vote, and it is adopted with 35 votes.

The second resolution on the results of talks held in Moscow with Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller is approved with 39 votes. The resolution says: "The results of talks Geydar Aliyev, who is executing the powers of the president, held with Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller in Moscow are approved."

The next resolution says: "The resolution of the Azerbaijan National Assembly: Having heard the report by Chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Geydar Aliyev, who is executing the powers of the Azerbaijani president, the Azerbaijan National Assembly decides: The stand of Geydar Aliyev at talks with Mr. Talbott, the ambassador at large of the U.S. State Department, are approved and U.S. President Bill Clinton's letter to the

chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, who is also executing the powers of the Azerbaijani president, are taken into cognizance."

Aliyev interjects: "This resolution should be expanded. [Words indistinct] these talks could be described as being useful, and it should be noted in the resolution that these talks are auspicious for Azerbaijani-U.S. relations. I think such descriptions are needed. After all, these were not only our position at the talks. I gave you detailed information, and from that you understood we discussed all the matters, there was convergence of views on most of the matters, and we both agreed to speed up development of ties between Azerbaijan and the United States. Therefore, I had not read this draft resolution and I request that if there is no objection the resolution be expanded to include these views." The National Assembly does not object to Aliyev's proposal. Aliyev asks who supports the resolution with these addenda. It is adopted with 40 in favor.

Aliyev ends the session at 1555 GMT and declares that the National Assembly will resume deliberations at 1500 on 16 September.

Assembly Commissions Approve Joining CIS

LD1409133493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1312 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By AZERTADZH correspondent Alla Baula]

[Text] Baku September 14 TASS—A joint meeting of the Azeri Parliament Permanent Commissions on Economic Policy, Budget and Social Policy and Agrarian Issues approved today the idea of Azeri [as received] joining of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Economic Union and the Treaty on Collective Security, bearing in mind the unanimous opinion of heads of ministries, departments, state companies and major Azeri enterprises, who attended the meeting.

The resolution will be submitted to the Azeri National Assembly today.

'Heated Debates' Reported

LD1409164493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1622 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku September 14 TASS—The future Azeri joining of the Commonwealth of Independent States gave rise to heated debates at today's meeting of the Azeri National Assembly.

The majority of parliament members support the idea and consider it to be a way out of the crisis, referring to benefits of participation in the agreements on economic cooperation and collective security.

At the same time, the reaction of representatives of the Azeri Popular Front and some other deputies was negative. In the words of Head of the Azeri Popular Front Executive Committee Ibragim Ibragimov, the Front will accept any compromise with the current republican leadership, but it will not allow Azerbaijan to lose independence by joining the Commonwealth.

He said the Front will fight against Azeri involvement in the Commonwealth, but did not specify what means it will use in the fight.

Debates Postponed to 16 Sep

LD1409211493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1950 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdulayeva and Viktor Schulman]

[Text] Baku September 14 TASS—A session of Azerbaijan's National Assembly (parliament) has decided to postpone a discussion on the issue of Azerbaijan's joining the Commonwealth of Independent States till Thursday, September 16.

At the same time, the National Assembly praised the results of Acting President Geydar Aliyev's visit to Moscow.

The necessity of creating a joint coordinating Russo-Azeri parliamentary group to reinforce the interparliamentary relations between the two countries was also stressed.

The National Assembly approved of the proposal on Azerbaijan's participation in a four-partite meeting between heads of state of the Transcaucasian countries and Russia in Moscow. They will discuss the situation in the region.

APF Stages Anti-CIS Membership Rally 14 Sep

NC1509095193 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0822 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, 15.09.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Popular Front's [Azerbaijani People's Front, APF] supporters held a meeting yesterday in front of the APF building. About 3000 people attended the meeting. The participants protested against Milli Mejlis discussion of Azerbaijan's entry into the CIS and a treaty on collective security. They were speaking about a lack of arguments to enter the CIS.

Complains About Police Action

NC1409134593 Baku TURAN in English 1118 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, September 14 (TURAN)—As TURAN's correspondent had been told by the information centre of the APF [People's Front of Azerbaijan], yesterday evening group of policemen had taken the building of the central headquarter of this organization in Baku under the control without any sanctions of legal bodies.

The policemen explained the reason of their activities as necessity of countercaution to possible provocations.

"The members of the information centre arrested the day before all still under arrest, and the building itself is under the control of the police", told Deputy Chairman of the APF Arif Ragimov in his interview with TURAN's correspondent. A. Ragimov thinks that this way authorities try to ruin the meeting against Azerbaijan's entering into the CIS planned for September 14 18 o'clock.

Aliyev Invites APF To Submit Presidential Candidate

NC1409134093 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1103 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, 14.09.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Geydar Aliyev invited Abulfaz Elchibey to put forward his candidature to Azerbaijan president. He did it in his interview on republican television. Instead of being engaged in provocations, to call people to the meetings let Azerbaijan Popular [People's] Front collect necessary number of signatures for the registration of its candidate to the post of President said Geydar Aliyev. Let it be Abulfaz Elchibey or some one else who will be desired. Its possible their candidate can win, added Geydar Aliyev.

Calls On APF To Use 'Democratic Methods'

NC1409142893 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1135 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, 14.09.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Azerbaijan Popular [People's] Front [APF] spreads anti-Aliyev leaflets. In these leaflets Azerbaijan's joining CIS is called treacherous politic. There are appeals to hold protest meetings. Stressed Geydar Aliyev in his speech at the session of national meetings. It would be better in [if] APF isn't engaged in such illegal actions, especially during the period of state of emergency is [in] the country. But the protest must be expressed by democratic methods by mean of his parliamentary representatives, notified Geydar Aliyev.

Cease-Fire With NKR Said Holding in Most Areas

LD1409122093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] The NKR [Nagorno-Karabakh Republic] Department of Press and Information has reported from Stepanakert that Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh are observing a truce, although some Azerbaijani formations have violated a cease-fire agreement. The Karabakh positions in the south of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic were subjected to an artillery bombardment last night. However, following brief retaliatory fire, the bombardment stopped.

Armenians Shell Northwest Villages; 2 Killed

LD1509110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1016 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 15 Sep—Two civilians were killed and 13 gravely wounded as a result of massive shelling from Armenian territory of population centers of Kazakhskiy Rayon in western Azerbaijan. As the Republic Defense Ministry reported this morning, the missile and artillery strikes were inflicted on this frontier district throughout last night, and ceased only after 0800. There is considerable damage in a number of villages.

The War Department especially stresses that units of the Azerbaijani Army, under command orders, did not return fire.

Correspondent Arrested on Terrorism Charge

NC1409154393 Baku TURAN in English 1118 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, September 14 (TURAN)—ZERKALO newspaper with reference to the Ministry of National Security of Azerbaijan reported about arrest of correspondent of Kaliningrad newspaper TILZIT Igor Khatkovski in Baku when he had tried to realize an act of terrorism.

He had a demolition explosive with clockwork and two his accomplices had films photographed on the territory of Azerbaijan strategical objects.

Igor Khatkovski confirmed that he was recruited by Armenian Special Services to hold acts of terrorism on the territory of Azerbaijan.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Gives Resignation Speech to Assembly

LD1409144493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0855 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Speech by Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Supreme Council, to the Supreme Council in Tbilisi—live]

[Text] I would like to make several remarks about Mr. Ioseliani's speech then some remarks in connection with this legislation [introduction of state of emergency], and I will have yet another statement.

I could endure it long and I have endured what is possible to endure, but I will not tolerate what has been said today. I can neither avenge nor square the account, but if you want a head of state who has no self-esteem, who usually endures it when people spit in his face, I will not be that kind of head of state nor that kind of chairman of the parliament. I cannot tolerate it and I will

not tolerate it when someone profanes something that is sacred to me, something I achieved as a result of sleepless nights and long endurance.

When I am slandered that I want to work through the order of a communist regime and by communist methods, I cannot and I will not tolerate it.

Mr. Ioseliani recalled that I started the fight against negative events. Yes, that is right. I started it. But what was the result, he asks. The result was that I realized that society was rotten, and I fought as well as I could to alter that system. And who did more to bring that system down and destroy it? Let God be the judge and let the people's law judge it. There are many other things, too.

Do not deprive Georgia of everything. It is not one man's property. I cannot do that. I am not a man of vengeance. As for the facts, I wanted appropriate bodies to carry out several serious actions to disarm an armed unit before the declaration of the state of emergency. They were given an instruction to this effect.

They received a report—although what kind of report is it when everyone, the whole country, knows it—about a 120-strong group which also included my supporters, which has not been registered anywhere, which does not get a salary from anyone, which is not subordinate to anyone—neither to town authorities nor to those of the republic. They are their own managers. They themselves draw up the regulations for their activity, and they have become bosses of the town. I was told that there is no cooperative, no shop, no enterprise which does not pay them protection money, which does not have money extorted to cover their expenses.

It was decided to disarm this unofficial armed unit which possesses two or three armored vehicles, the kind we cannot get for official units, and other armaments and other things. No extermination and no annihilation, only disarmament. I could not object to that. I did not even know who were among those people, who they were. Then I am told that these are the people who stopped goods coming from Iran. We are not only talking about goods. An Iranian exhibition on economic and cultural achievements should have been held in Georgia according to an agreement between the Iranian president and me in effect of my request. They stopped it, unfastened cars, robbed them, took away everything and only a train with empty freightcars arrived in Tbilisi. These are the people who riddled with bullets a car containing a woman and two children. There are many other things.

When I was informed about it, I told them to carry out the operation and disarm the people, but the corresponding unit had to be ready in case it encountered resistance. I was told that this problem was discussed at the specially established headquarters attended by two deputies of [Interior Minister] Khachishvili. They put this issue forward because those people had kidnapped the head of a police department and a decision was made that it could not be tolerated any longer. The meeting was also attended by the head of a department of the ministry. Khachishvili was informed about it. Two people, Irakli Batiashvili and Kviraia informed Mr. Jaba Ioseliani about the planned measure before it began, although perhaps a little late. All this was recorded and should have been shown on television but was not at Mr. Ioseliani's request and I did not try much to have it shown.

The truth must be elicited.

I am recalling this because probably I do not want to talk about these specific events. No state of emergency or military measures will work, nothing will work because if you touch any formation in Tbilisi [words indistinct]. Nothing will come out of it, I can see it. Can politics be created according to which minister will remain and which will resign and by promoting him in rank? He [Hachishvili] could not work. I brought him up myself, treated him like my own son, taught him the ABC's, did the best I could, and now you are asking me why I taught him to call a conference. There are 1,500 people in the central apparatus and 35,000 in the system. If he does not call the conference, task somebody, and check if the task has been done and does not announce it and if that one person does not get punished and fired, then how is work possible otherwise? There have been no collegium meetings in that system at all. All ministries, abroad as well, think that there are some procedures for work with colleagues and there is collective work. Only there [at the Interior Ministry], these forms are not necessary. Batoni [usual form of addressing men in Georgia] Jaba Ioseliani thinks that it is silly to hold these sessions and that only one person should decide everything on the basis of democracy and wisdom. There are some rules that cannot be avoided.

Now about the Khachishvili issue. May everyone know it now. You know what the situation is like in Senaki. I do not want to hear now about somebody taking over some town. Did the Samegrelo group occupy Senaki or did the government occupy Senaki? Which is it? What on earth is the matter with us? To avoid it, and Poti anyway, so that things would not get complicated, two months ago I asked Khachishvili—I was going to Sukhumi, I had to go—I asked him: I order you and ask you and beseech you to go to Senaki while I am away, and Senaki must not be risked as it is a vital artery, and blood would be shed. He promised me he would go to Senaki. I got back in two days at 0500, and I was met by Irakli Batiashvili and Kote Gabashvili—and others can witness it—and at 0500, tired and haggard, they told me that others had already entered Senaki [words indistinct]. I was told he could not be found.

Where was he? We looked in every nook and corner for one hour, and then I was told that he was in Rustavi asleep, getting rest. I phoned and asked him what had happened. Khachishvili said: I sent my deputy, Osadze. Well, I thanked him for having carried out my request and order so brilliantly. Then I started to look for Osadze. He had to be in Senaki day and night and had to stay there dead or alive. It turned out that he was asleep and resting in Tskaltubo instead. I phoned him, and he

even reprimanded me for an early phone call; it was 0600. He said he did not know what had happened, that he had been there the previous day, and that everything had been all right then, and decided to go and rest in Tskaltubo, and it was then that I made the decision that I had to fire the interior minister and the other one [the deputy interior minister] too. I did say that there was no other way out, and for some time I had to combine the post until the issue of the minister was resolved, maybe for a month or a month and a half. Then, as usually happens—it is my weakness and drawback—I recalled that it was we who had brought him here. You know what battles there were in parliament then, and those battles were not quite groundless. Many members of parliament were against Khachishvili [words indistinct]. He was a young man and everything was there for him; he was brave and had good qualities, and I cannot ignore that. He did certain things: he set up first aid groups, he brought in good men, seven or eight men you could trust, and others too. There were other things too.

Anyway, we reconsidered and we kept him. It was a mistake. I knew that parliament would not confirm his nomination. It would have meant more drama and calamity for him, and also many other events coincided with it, many other things. Does not the fact that 250 militiamen in Senaki did not shoot their guns and just folded arms in the buses and left the territory following the order from the police general speak for Khachishvili's and the interior minister's honor? I do not want to go on talking, as I do not feel obliged to justify myself before anybody, and especially regarding this case. I think it is immoral to justify myself here. Although I have been accused, I still do not think it is right to justify myself. What does Goga Khaindrava have to do with it? I was the one who defended him with my teeth. There are people here from Abkhazia who can witness this. I defended him with my teeth before he fled from Abkhazia himself. I respect him, he is a man of principles, he is an interesting man. He got in touch with Gudauta, Zugdidi; he used to work well there also, but then there was some misunderstanding, and he decided to leave. What happened? I do not understand. What on earth is it? I would not have argued about everything.

You know about my attitude toward Aslan Abashidze [chairman of the Ajarian Supreme Council], but why are you telling me about the coup and that Gamsakhurdia and Shevardnadze had an identical opinion of Gorbachev. Why are we relishing this? Are you not ashamed of this? My blood is boiling in my heart and liver. How dare you say that? [Shouting begins in the hall and it takes the speaker some time to get the situation under control.]

You apparently remember who the person was who declared that dictatorship was approaching. I was trying to get the whole world to know it [word indistinct] and who made the statement on the 17th [August 1991, two days before the coup in Russia], my first day in the Democratic Movement that today or tomorrow dictatorship would come out into the streets? Who was that man? It was Shevardnadze. When that happened, I advised you to see it in film, the Muskovites carried Shevardnadze over their heads, chanting Shevardnadze, Shevardnadze! I had not left the place for two days. That was where I was, together with Popov, Sobchak, and others.

Why are you slandering me? Do you know what Shevardnadze is respected for in the world? For his fight for democracy. [Someone from the audience interrupts him.]

You think that if a person gets a post and becomes a leader, you can spit at his face and eyes day and night. I shall not work with people like that.

I am going to tell you what I will do. That is sufficient, whomever it concerns. Nothing will come out of this martial, or rather state of emergency. Because Mr. Ioseliani made a speech here today. He made a slip of the tongue, but it probably is so. He mentioned that Mkhedrioni would be called back from its positions. This would be a disaster. I know what will follow if we pass the legislation. His speech was not accidental. All had been assessed in advance. Calling back Mkhedrioni means that Samtredia [rayon center close to the area under rebel control] will be occupied by others. This is definitely so. Mkhedrioni will step aside. I cannot fight and conduct war against Mkhedrioni. Neither consciousness nor morality will permit me to do that and not my relations with those lads. I know that this will happen.

I was there until 0300. No one knows it, but I returned from Samtredia at 0500 this morning. I did not recognize those boys.

A disaster will happen. What kind of state of emergency will it be? Nothing will work out.

However, we have decided the issue of Mkhedrioni as it should have been decided. There was debate and argument, but parliament made a decision on the Rescue Corps. The Rescue Corps was set up. The person whom they chose was appointed the leader of the Rescue Corps. We told Mkhedrioni members that the best part of them could form two or four battalions and join the interior troops, and it was not Gia Vashakidze but his brother, Kako Vashakidze, whom we appointed deputy commander of the interior troops. We told Mkhedrioni: Come and join us, boys, your man is here, one of your leaders. Come and you will be getting a salary. Everything will be fine. Everything will be legalized. You have lost people, 250 people were killed. I know everything. We will legalize it, and then you become a government formation. They were very glad [as heard]. In Samtredia, they said that they did not want anything.

What kind of a state of emergency will it be? It was after the meeting of the people of Tbilisi [as heard].

We should not sacrifice ourselves to one man. At least, one man should not become a cause of serious complications in Georgia. It should not be so [words indistinct]. They were ready to surrender Sukhumi to force someone's resignation. I know it is true. I know it exactly but

have not said it before. My God, there are such people among us. I spent 12 days there because I knew it was being prepared. What can I do after this [words indistinct] after all this, I was forced to go ahead with the Sochi agreement. What could I do?

Kobalia was armed to the teeth through state... [incomplete sentence as heard] Where was the money coming from? Whose weapons was he getting? These weapons belonged to the state, the country, the people [words indistinct].

One of the reasons why it was done was to show that [words indistinct] and the head of state would resign. Should Georgia's interests be sacrificed for one man [words indistinct]?

Even if it is a good law, it will not work. As Shalva Natelashvili said, we put into this law only one-third of what is in that law. You have not read the decree, but you should read it. Read it. Not even one-third of it was put into this law. Nothing is said there about video cameras. Read the decree.

I will not forgive rudeness. I know [words indistinct]. Uridia, Mr. Uridia, for the 100th time I am reprimanding you for your rudeness. This way only.

I must demand that Mr. Bobokhidze apologize to the meeting of the people of Tbilisi. The whole of Tbilisi, the whole of Georgia was there. The cream of Georgian society was there [words indistinct]. How could this meeting be described as a meeting of exalted people? [passage indistinct: Parliamentary Speaker Goguadze tries to calm members.]

I am supporting an economic union with Russia but cannot go ahead with it. It cannot be done with my hands. It cannot be done with my hands because another person has to do it. There is no other way out. Whatever I say and whatever happens, there is no other way out. Shevardnadze cannot do it because you will not forgive him. You will forgive another person.

That is why I must tell you now. I am not going to lick up what I have spat out. It is all over.

My patience had limits; as of today Shevardnadze is resigning. I have told you, I am not going to lick up what I have spat out, and I am not going to tolerate insults any more.

Take your seat. For a year and a half I have endured all that could have been endured except for insults against my mother. Wait, wait a bit. I don't want either my supporters or opponents to express excessive emotion. I have made this decision but not in order to travel the world, give lectures, and make money; it is not because of that. Nor is it because I want to move to another country, but there will be many invitations. I will stay in my own country and as a former politician, as a true politician will struggle, together with true Georgians, true patriots, true citizens, for the rescue and salvation of Georgia.

I want to retain that part of my good name and reputation in the world which has not yet been lost and to use it for Georgia, but this will be done from here. My roots are here and I will stay here. Thank you.

There is no sense in debating this law.

Supreme Council Refuses Resignation

LD1409121293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1203 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Tbilisi September 14 TASS—The Georgian parliament unanimously refused to accept the resignation of Eduard Shevardnadze.

149 lawmakers voted against the resignation and one abstained.

Former Prime Minister Comments

NC1409153593 Yerevan SNARK in English 1228 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Tbilisi, September 14 (SNARK)—The decision Eduard Shevardnadze made isn't done in time, it is the result of the emotional and stress situation, Tengiz Sigua told SNARK in his interview. The former prime minister, the Deputy Sigua is of the opinion that Shevardnadze's retirement will intensify the existing political crisis. There were done a lot of (?mistakes) [word indistinct] the head of the state and the opposition. Shevardnadze shouldn't take the responsibility for the position of the internal minister and the head of the Georgian military commandment.

[Words indistinct] of the opinion that the Shevardnadze's course will bring to the dictatorship.

Abkhaz Government Opposes Resignation

LD1409155593 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1524 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] In connection with the statement by Georgian state leader E. Shevardnadze on his resignation today, the government of Abkhazia, through L. Marshaniya, first deputy chair of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, has sent a message to the parliament of Georgia. The message expresses indignation at the conduct against the people of the radically inclined minority in parliament. "We categorically oppose the resignation of Eduard Shevardnadze. It will lead to catastrophe for the Georgian state and the nation as a whole," the message says.

Deputy Says Resignation 'Will Ruin Georgia'

NC1409155493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1426 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Tbilisi, September 14 (SNARK)—"If Shevardnadze would not change his decision and will resign that will ruin Georgia. In that case the mafia will come to the power", Georgian MP and independent journalist Valeriy Kvaratskhelia said to SNARK.

The MP is of the opinion that "there is an exaggerated political situation in Georgia." "I cannot forecast for my country tomorrow but if Shevardnadze will resign it will be fatal for Georgia and Shevardnadze is to understand that," Kvaratskhelia concluded.

Answering to the SNARK reporter's question whether there is an exit off that political crisis appeared, Georgian MP Mamuka Georgadze said that "the only exit off that is to strengthen the power. It is necessary to stop the parliament activity for several months".

Church Leader Urges Shevardnadze To Stay

LD1409184093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1735 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By GEORGIAN NEWS AGENCY correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi September 14 TASS—Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia and head of the Orthodox Church of Georgia Iliya II called on Georgian state head Eduard Shevardnadze to stay on his post at a thousands-strong rally in Tbilisi in Shevardnadze's support today.

"I am not used to taking my words back, but I will stay with you," Shevardnadze told the rally. "But on two conditions: the parliament should declare the state of emergency and suspend its activities for three months.

"I speak the language my people understands. The parliament must be moral and cultured. Otherwise, we will not work together."

Shevardnadze promised the rally to make a televised address to the people in the morning to announce his final decision.

Shevardnadze Responds to Georgia 'Anarchy'

PM1409175893 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 93 First Edition p 1

[Besik Urigashvili report: "Shevardnadze Announces His Resignation. Parliament Refuses To Accept It"]

[Text] Shevardnadze made this decision after Dzhaba Ioseliani, leader of the "Mkhedrioni" paramilitary formation and one of the most influential figures in Georgian politics, severely criticized the course which Shevardnadze is pursuing at the morning session of parliament, stating, in particular, that it was a policy of populism "straight out of the communist era."

In reply Shevardnadze stated that he saw no sense in such conditions in remaining in the post of head of state, and offered his resignation. No less dramatic events had preceded the emotional denouement at Tuesday's session of parliament.

Last Saturday at a session of the "Tbiliseli" [Tbilisi Citizen] society Shevardnadze stated: "Enough talk of our contribution to the progress of mankind; the people are tired of demagoguery. It is time to adopt decisive measures."

At this same meeting Shevardnadze stated that he was putting to parliament the question of introducing a state of emergency in the country. His political partners and the development of the situation in the country had impressed on him the need to implement such decisive measures.

The complete destruction of the structures of power, rampant crime, and mafioso clans fighting over the division of spheres of influence have made the administration of the country via democratic institutions impossible and people's lives intolerable. Recent sociological polls have testified that an overwhelming majority of the population wholeheartedly supports a tougher course.

Moreover, all reasonable people understand perfectly that, in the given situation, a clampdown is neither an end in itself, nor an attempt to establish a totalitarian regime in the country. It is the only way to save the state.

Recent events have convinced people that, in implementing a state of emergency regime, Shevardnadze is counting on the police. At least, this is attested by the fact that he has dismissed Interior Minister Timur Khachishvili, a protege of Dzhaba Ioseliani, one of Georgia's most influential "godfathers," and taken charge of this power ministry himself.

Shevardnadze's calculation is absolutely correct. It is the police, for all the fact that they are demilitarized, who are the least of all stained with crime within their own ranks. Which cannot be said for the armed forces, the military police, or the internal troops. People in military uniform are so discredited that they have become anathema to many Georgian citizens. "The lords of life"—as ordinary citizens call the Georgian military with mocking malice.

However, there is also one other circumstance which alarms the centrist political opposition. While not contesting the need to take extraordinary measures in combating crime, it strongly opposes the restriction of a number of political and legal freedoms envisaged by the state of emergency regulations that have been elaborated by the head of state's staff.

"These regulations in no way differ from the ill-famed edicts of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]," Vakhtang Dzabiradze, a leader of the Republican Party stated. "If the restriction on rallies and demonstrations is understandable, how is the introduction of censorship to be explained, or the registration of copying equipment? After all, these are the attributes of a police state."

Meanwhile the Georgian leader, alongside actions aimed at implementing emergency measures, has taken steps to

create his own party as a realistic and effective instrument in the forthcoming political battle. In his words, he would like to see young pragmatists and businessmen in this party.

It is in this context that the appointment to the posts of government vice premiers of the 29-year-old Irina Sarshvily, leader of the National Democratic Party parliamentary faction, and Amiran Kadagishvili, the most influential businessman in Georgia and owner of "Kavkazskiy Kontsern," should be viewed. Presumably, it is around the national democrats that Shevardnadze's party will be formed. This is all the more paradoxical in view of the fact that the national democrats are the oldest dissident party in Georgia and not so long ago were subjected to persecution—especially when Shevardnadze was first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

Of course, from the viewpoint of democracy in the abstract and in comparison with other countries—for example, Russia—the introduction of a state of emergency may seem a monstrous step. But paradoxically all realistically minded politicians in Georgia and the intelligentsia support this step.

However, Shevardnadze has run into opposition not only from parliament, but also from the mafia "godfathers." At any rate, on Tuesday morning when parliament began to examine Shevardnadze's proposal for the introduction of a state of emergency, the speaker managed to assemble a quorum only at the fifth attempt.

If parliament accepts the resignation, it will have to assume responsibility itself and propose another concrete way out of the catastrophe that has already happened. Alas, no one else has found another solution in conditions whereby the country has been effectively destroyed and anarchy reigns.

Ioseliani Addresses Supreme Council 14 Sep

LD1409214593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0710 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Address by Jaba Ioseliani, Mkhedrioni militia leader, before the Georgian Supreme Council in Tbilisi on 14 September—live]

[Excerpts] My speech will not be coherent, but I hope that you will get my message. The situation is very serious as, after all, we were not aspiring only for independence; we wanted independence, freedom, and democracy. Our battle was directed toward that, I think, but the last several months have raised doubts in me because I think that we are moving toward, I do not want to use this word, a communist and tottalitarian mentality and psychology, a bad means toward a good end. We shall not reach it. As I am making my speech, let me say a few words. During his time Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze used to make the same mistakes. He wanted—I am sure, and I know that I was his first rival then during communism—to do some good for Georgia, and many people supported him then; I hope you remember. Everywhere he went he used to get ovations from people—some of you may not remember as you are too young—but then it turned out that the good causes could not have been achieved by bad means. [passage omitted]

Gamsakhurdia used to govern the country on the basis of rumors and slander. What do we have now? We have a populist leadership now. Shevardnadze said some time ago that populist, yes populism, is a very bad disease for any state. Populism is not only when the head of state comes forward to lie to the people, but populism is one of the methods of governing a state, and we continue to use this method. It is calamitous and will lead us nowhere. The motto that the communists used to have [words indistinct]. It will get us nowhere. It is immoral. I often say that we have a crisis of political morality on top of everything else. [passage omitted]

I want to give you one example: About three days ago or so, a very bad thing happened. Rumors were spread that a so-called gang of 120 men had to be eliminated. First of all, let me say that this is no gang. These are the people who brought Eduard Shevardnadze to Georgia, and there are many facts alleging it with photos and everything. They are all supporters of Shevardnadze. They fought in Abkhazia, and they lost two men in the battles at the monkey zoo. Maybe something was really happening there, but these are the people who can be caught very easily. They come here to me, to Eduard, and arresting them is not a problem.

Then, all of a sudden, 500 men gathered with seven tanks to attack them at night and eliminate these 120 young men. I do not know, maybe there are some perpetrators among them—maybe somebody stole a cow or insulted somebody, I do not know—but everything could be solved very quietly and in an operatinal manner. Imagine seven tanks and 500 men in Rustavi at night at 0100 with these 120 men already on the alert as they had been warned about the attack. Thank goodness they had been warned, otherwise there would have been a bloodbath; at least 10 people out of 120 would have been shot. Imagine what could have happened there. A third front would have been opened there: one in Abkhazia, one in west Georgia, and the third one in Rustavi. I do not know if the head of state was aware of this fact. He probably knew about it. This is the problem. Why should it have been necessary? Temur Alakhadze, let us say, could have been arrested freely; he would have said, please arrest me if I deserve to be arrested. No gun is needed for that. He could have been called in by phone and then arrested. [parliament speaker, interrupting, tells other MP's: wait, wait]

Temur Alakhadze came to me and to Eduard Shevardnadze the next morning; he can come today or whenever you want him to. I went to prison on my own when it was necessary, when we were facing the civil war. Let us not recall all that. This is on the one hand. The killing of 120 young men by 500 men was a debt by a campaign [as heard]. The reason why I gave you this example is that

this is a communist method, a campaign the way it used to be, a campaign against him or this or that, and you know what these campaigns brought us, nothing. [passage omitted]

This is one of the methods of populism so that people learn: see how strong we are, we killed 120 people. But we can never predict the aftermath. What matters is eliminating the problem area at that very moment. I repeat once again that the populist method of governing the state will not get us far, and if we think that these are compromises, let me tell you that they are not compromises. Backing down is not a compromise, and we are going this way. [passage omitted]

I would like to say that I support Shevardnadze. I know that he is a great politician, but probably one cannot jump higher than his head. Therefore we must—I said in parliament that we should—not have given Shevardnadze so many powers, not because he is not a talanted man, but because one man cannot solve every problem, especially today. It is out of the question. He will always make a mistake and when one has such a vast experience... Let us remember Batoni [traditional way of addressing men in Georgia] Eduard, you used to have a committee to fight against the negative events. What results did the fight against negative events bring? It exacerbated the situation; more people accepted bribes. If before they paid 1,000 rubles for a criminal offense, by the time you came, the amount had gone up to 20,000 because it was you with whom the officials had to cope. [passage omitted]

Batoni Eduard said in the philarmonic hall that if we were to retain one thing from the communists, it should be order. Let me tell you, it did not used to be order, it used to be immorality, it used to be slavery; it was not order. Today, we have a chance to establish order, not the moral order, we must establish real democratic order, and the whole population must work together. [passage omitted]

When Gamsakhurdia urged young people, Batiashvili and Tsereteli—they are not present now—I used to tell them: Do not do it; it is immoral. This man [Gamsakhurdia] cannot be the leader and they used to tell me, we need him now because people will come. Gamsakhurdia was interested in seeing people gathering. [passage omitted]

It is not possible to compare Gamsakhurdia with Shevardnadze, but probably there are similarities in the way of reasoning and their attitudes to work. Do you remember the attempted Russian coup? Only two people in the whole world said one and the same thing, Shevardnadze and Gamsakhurdia, that Gorbachev plotted it himself. I was surprised about how that man could have done that to himself, he must have been mad.

I think we must think about this issue very seriously. I repeat, Eduard Shevardnadze is the man we need and the best help for him is [words indistinct]. I have been telling him for a year and a half. I do not know whether Khachishvili was a good interior minister or a bad one; he is a good man, and nobody could have done anything under these circumstances. Nobody helped him, neither did Shevardnadze, who said: I appointed him minister, what other help is there? When one is appointed minister, it is then that help is needed. What was considered Khachishvili's drawback? It is important. The drawbacks were that he did not hold sessions and did not make appearances on television. I asked him why he would not appear on television. He would tell me: I have not done anything yet, why appear on television? What sessions shall I hold? If we think about it, what are these sessions for? Let us say, this is a method of communist leadership. What do these sessions give us? A session is a rally, a big rally. It is a discussion. I know what it is in America, as well as in other countries, it is a discussion between 15 or 20 people. There is no work done among 3,000 or 5,000 people. It is populism. One would make a good speech, and people would say, what a good speech it was. [passge omitted]

The policy here should be that enemies must be treated as they deserve and friends accordingly. Any other kind of policy would be detrimental for us. Thank you.

Says 'I Support' Shevardnadze

LD1409223893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1017 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Address by Mkhredioni militia leader Jaba Ioseliani to Supreme Council in Tbilisi—live]

[Excerpts] I hope that I am in parliament and every word I said here was quite clear. I support Eduard Shevardnadze and I want him to be in government, but I do not want to have something which would bring Georgia a disaster, and that will be introducing a state of emergency without preparation. I was talking about introducing a state of emergency but that train has already left; the situation is different now, we are not ready.

What state of emergency are we talking about when in half of Georgia... [changes thought] Are we going to introduce a state of emergency for 5,000 people in Vera [district in Tbilisi] or for the people in a saloon bar? Where else can we establish a state of emergency? It has not been said clearly enough. Eduard Shevardnadze said that Mkhedrioni would be dissolved and this would be—Mkhedrioni will not be dissolved, but Mkhedrioni should know what they are, what they stand for, and who they are fighting. They should not be spoken about by everybody and such provocations which were premeditated on the day before yesterday must not happen—to kill those 120 people, and 40 of those 120 are in Khobi now. [sentence as heard]

This is what I am talking about. I am talking about every preparation that has to be made and done properly. We must not just introduce a state of emergency. What if we cannot carry it out? It will bring anarchy, bloodshed, we must think about it properly and then introduce it. [passage omitted, importance of Mkhedrioni and their

output for the elections in Georgia, recalls names of Mkhedrioni members and their chivalry]

How is a state of emergency going to work? Tell me. Say, we introduce a state of emergency. Then we will go to Senaki. What do we do next? Mr. Loti Kobalia, please, lay down your arms because we have introduced a state of emergency. What does he answer? The situation is the same as in Abkhazia. Our armed forces cannot operate there. What do we do then? We cannot enter Tskhinvali. So, all this has to be thought out and we must consider which positions we will take and how things will work out. Then we can introduce a state of emergency.

I was hammering on the idea of introducing a state of emergency about five months ago. I was hammering into him the idea of a state of emergency, and two months ago he understood me and said he was getting ready for it but not in such an unprepared manner. If a provocation happened I thought: who did, it is just Shevardnadze who is the enemy of Georgia. Even if all of those 200 men were bandits and those 500 were good men, it would be a crime because those there are also Georgians and we know what damages they did to Georgia, billions, and we are still mollycoddling them because they are Georgians, and we do not know anything about these boys; and by the way, I will bring them all here and arrest them now. It is easy to arrest them. What professionalism are you talking about? Five hundred men and tanks entering the city? Professionalism is to catch them properly so that they do not escape. This is professionalism. [passage omitted]

I want to repeat once again that Eduard Shevardnadze must have control in his authority, authority without control cannot exist. [passage omitted]

I support Shevardnadze. I am repeating. What do you want of me? Should I cheer him hurrah, hurrah? Must not there be a single person [interrupted by shouts of members, heated arguments follow] [passage omitted]

I was the first one to have said, and I am reiterating, that he played a great role in dismantling the Soviet Union but I am just saying that in some situations which are unacceptable for us, we cannot be with him.

Ninidze Addresses Supreme Council

LD1409222693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1055 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Speech by Justice Minister-designate Tedo Ninidze at the Supreme Council session in Tbilisi on 14 September—live]

[Text] I would like, first of all, to remind you that parliament decides the issue of cessation of the authority of the head of state, chairman of parliament. It is clearly stated in the bill on state authority. To make it clear, I would like to quote the last point of Clause No. 8 that says: Parliament decides the issue of cessation of power of the chairman of parliament, head of state, prime minister, and members of the Cabinet of Ministers after they have expressed a wish to do so. Thus, the decision from a legal point of view on whether the authority of the head of state should stop must be taken by us. It is a different matter what the head of state's attitude will be toward this decision. We are not talking about that now. Legally, he will still remain in the post until a new head of state is elected. This is the legal side of the issue.

Let me tell parliament one thing, as a citizen and a human being. This issue has nothing to do with either my post, or my being procurator, or justice minister. Consider that if events proceed as the head of state said, I will refuse the position absolutely categorically and I hope that parliament will support me. This is the first thing.

Second, I would like to remind you, I want to be completely honest with you, approximately two weeks ago I had to go to Batumi quite unexpectedly, I do not know why. The reason why I went to Ajaria was a telephone call from Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Supreme Council of Ajaria. I spoke about this with the head of state and told him that Abashidze had asked me to visit him. I asked him what should I do, as the procurator could not leave the capital without notifying the head of state naturally. He told me to go. There was a meeting with Loti Kobalia, in this context it is not worth knowing how the dialogue went, but I remained there for two days at Abashizde's request. During those two days, quite unexpectedly, I met the commander of Russia's ground forces, who was resting in the villa next door to Abashidze in Kobuleti. During one of those usual evening conversations, the issue of events under way in Georgia was raised. I would like Georgia to know this. The commander of the ground forces, I apologize I cannot remember his surname, but his name and patronymic is Vladimir Magamedovich, probably of North Caucasian origin. There are people who probably know who I am talking about. He told me that we will never forgive Shevardnadze for withdrawing troops from Germany, disintegrating the Soviet Army, we will not forgive Shevardnadze for the soldiers blood that was shed in Georgia, he meant Soviet soldiers. During his speech he was not talking from the state's point of view but said that he was worried about the Russian Army, as he was a third generation Russian officer. Are you interested in knowing the answer to the question whether Russia has interests in Georgia? I will be blunt in my answer, the man said. Russia has interests in Georgia, and Shevardnadze is disrupting these interests. I am repeating this as a human being and I am responsible before history.

After that I had a dialogue with the man who had invited me, Abashidze. He told me that in the circle of those general officers, he had seen a map of the future former Soviet Union, which would become a federation or, at best, a confederation, and he had seen the place on the map that historically, used to be Georgia. Besides, Aslan continued quite clearly, the events in Georgia in these two months would develop in such a manner that Shevardnadze would be forced to leave. Maybe people did not comprehend, but there would come the power that would hope to retain authority, but soon that power

would leave and then the power that had interests in Georgia would arrive. I asked him why he was telling me all that, was it because I was expected to tell the head of state? He assumed that I would...[interrupted by shouts in parliament] I am telling you that this scenario was written a long time ago and we are characters of this scenario. I would like to, and I am responsible before everyone, everyone, I would like to, I could not have kept silent, now parliament must express its stance on the head of state...[interrupted by shouts from deputies] Yes, that is what I am telling you. Are we to confirm the statement from the head of state on his resignation? If parliament confirms the statement, then the procedure will be over and the authority of the head of state will cease, and if we do not confirm it, then, despite the head of state's wishes, legally he will still be the head of state.

Parliament Convening To Consider Shevardnadze's Terms

LD1409165793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1643 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi September 14 TASS—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze may withdraw his resignation if the parliament okays a state of emergency in the country and will agree to suspend its work for two-three months.

He told a rally of his supporters on Tuesday, who kneeled and begged him to stay in office, that he would announce his final decision in a TV address Wednesday morning.

The parliament will convene at 21.00 hours local time [1700 GMT] to discuss Shevardnadze's terms.

Postpones Session to 15 Sep

LD1409173793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1727 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi September 14 TASS—Georgian lawmakers decided to move up their crucial session to Wednesday [15 September] morning at which they would discuss the terms advanced by Eduard Shevardnadze for withdrawing his resignation.

Initially the closed-door meeting was scheduled for Tuesday evening, but legislators said they are too tired and need a fresh head.

Also Wednesday morning Shevardnadze is to announce his final decision whether to resign or not.

Approves State of Emergency, Recess

LD1409182793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1802 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Today, a meeting of parliament adopted resolutions on the introduction of a state of emergency and temporary suspension of parliament's work.

State of Emergency To Begin 20 Sep

LD1409195593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1919 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—A two-months state of emergency will be introduced in Georgia on September 20, in accordance with a resolution the Georgian parliament adopted late at night today thus changing its previous decision on the postponement of a closed meeting till 11 a.m. on September 15.

Sources at Eduard Shevardnadze's staff told ITAR-TASS, this was possibly prompted by a rally in support of the Georgian state head, which lasted till late today.

Resolution on Work During State of Emergency

LD1509094793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0712 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Deputy Speaker Rcheulishvili reads Supreme Council's resolution] The Georgian Supreme Council decides:

1. Plenary meetings of the autumn session of the Georgian Supreme Council are to be held after the end of the state of emergency.

2. Supreme Council work to be continued by [Supreme Council] commissions, which will work on and improve legislative acts of primary importance.

3. Members of the Georgian Supreme Council, in their capacity of representatives of the supreme power of the state, are to conduct work in their constituencies, making maximum use of their status.

MPs are to supervise the activity of the authorities and local government bodies, hold consultations with leaders of these bodies, representatives of political and public organizations, and their electorate. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze Addresses Session

LD1509125593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Address by Georgian Supreme Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze to the Georgian Supreme Council session in Tbilisi—live]

[Text] I want to say a few words before the voting. First of all, I would like to address our people with words of gratitude and satisfaction. Every decent citizen of

Georgia became convinced yesterday how wise our people are, and all of us here, in our parliament, must learn from our people. We must listen to people, their voice. This truth was not invented by me; it belongs to every normal country.

How do I see the participation by members of parliament in carrying out the state of emergency in general? Details will be clarified later on. In every rayon and town, relevant plans will be worked out with the participation of local bodies and republican forces in order to reinforce order and to disarm illegal armed formations.

I would like to bring to the attention of these formations today that it is still not too late. They must make certain notifications either at the Defense Ministry or the Interior Ministry. If they prefer, they can go to the National Security Council. We will consider these notifications in three or four days to see who these people are: if they are decent citizens, if they can merge with the structure and be given a place of location. If this does not happen, all formations will be considered illegal.

I have already said that this process is already under way with Mkhedrioni. Part of it has been merged with the rescue corps, and part of it will be reunited with our internal troops. No such work is under way yet concerning other formations. This will be one of our key goals during what we will call the state of emergency.

During the process of working out these plans and after they have been worked out, every deputy—be he elected by a majority vote or appointed from party lists, be he connected with a region, rayon, or town—will have a chance to look into these plans, to be consulted, to eradicate anything illegal, and, if necessary, give information to the republican committee and the temporary committee and the Security Council, which will immediately supervise this measure in Georgia and will have to take steps on the spot envisaged by the law.

This work has to have a supervisor at the center, and I think we can ask Vakhtang Rcheulishvili to head the group which will have to organize the distribution of deputies to rayons, towns, and ministries, so that the republic and the people can feel genuine parliamentary control and parliament's participation in this truly state business.

A group can be set up which will comprise representatives of different factions or representatives chosen according to some other principle. Those commissions, which parliament and our people have asked to pay special attention to these issues, must be especially active; however, I thought that it would be good if Vakhtang Rcheulishvili could take care of this issue as a coordinator.

It is a bit difficult to adopt a decision. Are we going to call it a break, or should we formulate it differently? There will be a break in the work of parliament only because the country will adopt the state of emergency in work and life. We have announced these measures for two months, but this does not mean that parliament will not convene when there is a need to do so.

The chairman of parliament has this right but some people may think the chairman of parliament will not call parliament due to some circumstances. If we keep the condition that parliament, during this period, can be recalled at the request of one fifth of its members, as is laid down, I think that there will be no misunderstanding, because we can recall parliament at the chairman's decision or at the request of the one-fifth. This one-fifth will always be in Tbilisi working in the commissions, at work or at home.

Maybe some days later, when deputies decide to go and work with their electors in this period, a consultative or instructive meeting could be held and we could familiarize them with the plan which will cover the whole republic. If you think it is necessary, we could ask management of some enterprises as well.

The issue of the state of emergency and these documents have not been discussed in the commissions beforehand, because it is the head of state, not the commission, who has the right to introduce the state of emergency and submit the issue to parliament. This is no deviation. Perhaps it would have been better for the commissions to have worked on it; that is a different issue. When we were adopting this decision, the issue was mainly discussed at the National Security Council, where the chairman of one of the commissions participated; the second commission did not participate. This can be considered a definite drawback, but it was not a deviation from, or breach of, current legislature.

Please, then, refrain from the kind of accusations that cost us dear yesterday. I do not want to go back to that. We talked, clarified, met each other, and so, there is no misunderstanding concerning yesterday.

It was said that the day before yesterday a query was raised about our national movement, about where Georgia is going, about what was said the day before, and that everything is clear. I will not forgive anybody for this. (?It is finished.) I am not used to commenting on such statements. I did not say anything of the kind attributed to me. I was talking about the false national movement. There is much falsehood in the national movement, and wherever else you like, be it in a state structure or in our consciousness; there is as much falsehood as you like.

At the moment, I am not talking about the national movement as much as about those people who consider themselves in the national movement. There is much falsity there. There are many demagogues. I am not talking about the national movement in general. I am talking about the falsity which was confused with the national movement. If anybody considers oneself a member of such group, he has only him, elf to blame.

God forbid that this should touch on the name of Merab Kostava and those who were leaders of the national

movement lately. We must understand it the way it was said. I said: This is the way I see the national movement. The national movement today is saving Georgia. The national movement today is being a soldier, being a general for those who are fighting for the country. The national movement is a fight for Georgia's integrity. It is a good doctor, a good youth doing its work well, and so on and so forth.

I have given you seven or eight components now. This is what the national movement is today; this is also the case with those who stand on the alert for Georgia. Do not let anyone find fault where there is no fault. There are enough faults in life as there are. [interruptions from the floor]

[Deputy speaker intervenes] Please, do not make comments from your seats.

[Shevardnadze] I do not know who changed their minds. It is a different matter.

[Deputy speaker] Please, stop commenting from your seats.

[Shevardnadze] I think the venom coming from different corners will have repercussions on you; that is all.

Then, Mr. Tedo Paatashvili [leader of the Charter 91 Party], I must tell you this: You must take care that no violence is used in (?this struggle). I have already said once that you must apologize to the population of Tbilisi. There was no violence used yesterday. Yesterday the real parliament, the people's parliament, came here. What happened yesterday? People came spontaneously [to Republic Square]. The university came and told me that the moment they learned about it they ran to parliament. What is this? This is a huge responsibility before the people and the country and the motherland. Do not insult everything that is pure and honest which still remains in this country.

Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili left for Moscow this morning. A meeting with [Russian Defense Minister Pavel] Grachev has been arranged to discuss very important issues. That meeting was agreed to when Grachev was visiting here earlier. The meeting will take place today [15 September] but I must phone him [Karkarashvili] and call him immediately in order to take emergency measures.

Despite many agreements, they [supporters of ex-Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia] crossed the Rioni river, stormed Japana [in western Georgia]], near the village of Kvalo. They then took over the railway from Batumi—as well as the highway—and then stormed the forests. A total of nine people have been killed—including passengers on a train. I have been told that some people were from Khashuri [western Georgia] while the rest were locals. We have just received information that there are many wounded people in Lanchkhuti hospital. Several civilians have been taken hostage.

I have said many times that I support Mr. Aslan Abashidze's initiative and I would like to ask him again, because everything is not yet lost, to continue his mission. I supported the initiative of Tengiz Dikhaminjia, Zurab Zhvania, Boris Kakubava, Avtandil Margiani, chairman of our supreme court. They talked to me.

I cannot help stressing that every time this process of negotiation started, I faced betrayal. One process started and then Senaki was lost. The second time we intervened, others intervened at my request, relevant representatives. The defense minister had a meeting, and they agreed that nothing would happen and that Georgia's armed forces would remain on the airfield and that Khobi and Abasha would be left intact as well as the highways; but Khobi and Abasha were occupied the morning after the agreement. An attack on Poti was planned too.

Now the process of negotiations with Aslan Abashidze has started. I repeat: I would like to support him, and I do support him because we have a common task, and we do not distinguish between the matters of Ajara and Georgia. (?It could not be interpreted like this), but this tragedy happened at the crack of dawn.

I have not made a decision yet. I must think about it. I am not ruling out flying there. If there is anybody there with whom I could talk, then I will do so. If there is a way to save the situation and come out of the situation, I will try to find a way out.

I have said many times that blood must not be shed; brothers' blood must not be shed. I cannot distinguish between the Tskhenistskhali—I could not cross the Tskhenistskhali River. I should have done so. What difference does it make which Georgian is standing on either bank of the Tskhenistskhali river? This is probably naive on my part.

We must still try to save something, but I will not sacrifice Georgia to anybody, to anybody. I will not sacrifice Georgia to anybody, whichever part of Georgia may be in question. If it is a quesation of Guria, then Guria [words indistinct]. I stress this and refer to this region in particular [Shevardnadze is from Guria], but it applies to whichever part of Georgia you care to mention.

Georgia knows from its history that separatism is a regional thing and what it has cost the country; it lost our country its independence for two centuries. Worse things happened before those two centuries.

I would like to make a statement: As they say, the chalice of endurance is full to the brim. This is how the chalice of endurance of the Georgian people will overflow. I am once again addressing those who are on the other bank of the Tskenistskali, although it is no longer the other bank, and on the Rioni river: People, come to your senses. Do not do it. Whose hand can be lifted to deny Georgia electric power? It was the Georgian people who built this Inguri power station.

They [Gamsakhurdia supporters] have issues an ultimatum threatening to completely cut off Inguri [power

station]. I tell them you have no right to do it. I would like to use my present address once again. This is my last warning, the last request I am beseeching for the final time. Does anybody there believe that Georgia has exhausted its military possibilities?

I did not allow myself to send a squadron there as they would have had to fly over the rayon and the children would be frightened. Someone would have been frightened and thought that they were going to bomb towns, rayons, and villages. I don't want to do that. Many tanks have been concentrated, they were pulled out of Abkhazia. We did not send them in. We are not doing it, are we? Do you think that this is a sign of weakness and timidity? There are other things, too.

Today, I am talking officially as the head of state and as the chairman of parliament. This cannot be tolerated any more. There has been no talk about opposition between different parts nor about the bloodshed, and this morning's news has brought calamity. How can they be reconciled? How will the Gurians and the Mingrelians face each other when blood has already been shed? Where are you driving the country? And you, Mister, who are warm in Grozno, what orders are you giving from there? And I would like to tell Mr. Dudayev from here: We agreed on many things. Let everybody know about it. We want goodneighborly relations with you, we want brotherhood and friendship. We turned a blind eye to you fighting against the Georgians, shedding Georgian blood in Abkhazia. We turned a blind eye to many things for the sake of our brotherhood and friendship, but stop it now. Keep that president [Gamsakhurdia]; we are giving him to you; keep him but stop forming groups there. Stop financing those groups and people who are fighting against Georgia, those who want to destroy this country. This is what I wanted to say at today's session before the voting takes place on the issue Vakhtang Rcheulishvili was talking about.

Shevardnadze Supporters Rally Outside Parliament Building

LD1409123193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1204 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi September 14 TASS—Thousands of supporters of Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze are currently rallying outside the parliament building in the Georgian capital blocking the main Tbilisi thoroughfare. They call on Shevardnadze who announced his resignation to stay on as the leader.

The demonstrators consider him to be the only person capable of leading the country out of the political and economic deadlock. Every minute, new people join the rally.

Shevardnadze has addressed the rally, expressing gratitude for support.

Earlier he had announced his resignation at a parliamentary session which refused to discuss his plan for the state of emergency in the republic.

Session Continues

LD1409140793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1210 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Telephone report by IPRINDA correspondent Zurab Dvali in Tbilisi—recorded]

[Text] After parliamentary Deputy Jaba Ioseliani accused the head of state of reviving a dictatorship, populist actions, and the unjust dismissal of Interior Minister Teymuraz Khachishvili, Eduard Shevardnadze declared: From this moment it can be considered that I have resigned. Everyone is tugging away for himself, and in such conditions it is impossible to work.

He also noted that [Interior Minister Teimuraz] Khachishvili had not carried out his instruction to go to Senaki and hold talks with Gamsakhurdia's supporters, and he had also committed a number of other major violations which have given cause for his dismissal.

After the resignation statement by the head of state, the atmosphere in Tbilisi became more tense. About 2,000 citizens in the Georgian capital gathered near the parliament building and demanded that Shevardnadze return to exercising his authority, that the state of emergency be introduced, and that their representative be allowed to speak in the parliamentary session. The building where the parliament of the Republic is sitting is blockaded.

At the present moment the session of the republic's supreme legislative body is continuing and is being relayed by local television. At 1445 the deputies voted against Shevardnadze's resignation. The number of deputies taking part in the voting was 150, not one of whom voted in favor of Shevardnadze's resignation. There were 146 [as heard] deputies voting against accepting the resignation of the head of state, with one abstention.

According to information we have received, at 1500 a meeting began outside the walls of the parliament building. The number of participants is growing by the minute and already amounts to about 3,000.

Shevardnadze, however, has sent a letter to parliamentary speaker Vakhtang Goguadze in which he has said that parliament's reaction is too late and that he is firm in his decision. Speaking at the session of parliament, Jaba Ioseliani declared that he did not want Shevardnadze's resignation and that he would not be going anywhere. The session of the corps of deputies is continuing.

The number of citizens arriving at the parliament building is growing. At a meeting organized in response to a call by (Irina Sarishvili), deputy for the National Democratic Party of Georgia, the speakers pointed out the impossibility of accepting Shevardnadze's resignation.

Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili spoke at the parliament session and noted that the Russian side had begun the withdrawal of its observers from the territory of Abkhazia because of Eduard Shevardnadze's resignation. The defense minister remarked that such a turn of events could lead to the complete loss of Abkhazia and that therefore Shevardnadze's resignation was in fact impossible. Events continue to develop at lightning speed.

'Weapons' Seen Outside Parliament

LD1409145193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1443 GMT 14 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi September 14 TASS—Situation is becoming tense in the Georgian parliament after Eduard Shevardnadze announced his resignation Tuesday. Weapons are being brought to the building and unknown armed people arrive to it.

Shevardnadze sent a message to parliament denying to it any further cooperation. "I have voiced my decision. Any decision of the parliament would be late". Earlier lawmakers had overwhelmingly rejected Shevardnadze's resignation.

In the meantime, Georgian Defence Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili and the government pledged loyalty to Shevardnadze, TASS learned by telephone from Iosif Kabalidze, an aide of the prime minister. "The governmental structures, the Defence Ministry and personally the defence minister support the head of state and obey his orders", he said.

Deputy Prime Minister Irina Sarishvili told a pro-Shevardnadze rally in Tbilisi that in the emerging situation the parliament should dissolve itself.

The Georgian defence minister and commander of the Russian troops in Transcaucasia Fyodor Reut are arriving in Moscow Wednesday to meet Pavel Grachev, the Russian defence minister, according to the Georgian Embassy in Moscow and the Russian Defence Ministry. Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia is in Moscow already.

Shevardnadze himslef is currently meeting in the parliament building his former supporter Jaba Ioseliani who initiated the resignation demands by accusing Shevardnadze of trying to impose a dictatorship by introducing a state of emergency in the country. In Tbilisi the situation remains quiet, according to city police.

Shevardnadze Addresses Rally

LD1409175393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1522 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Speech by State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze to rally of supporters near parliament building in Tbilisi—live]

[Text] Friends, I would like to apologize for hurting all of you. I am grateful that you have come here and once again shown to Georgia and I would say to the whole world that the Georgian people exist, the Georgian people are alive, and the Georgian people have faith in their country's future and can see the road, the road to the future.

You have shown to everyone that Georgia will never be on its knees. The Georgian people and all our citizens will never kneel to anyone. You have shown to everyone that Georgia can fight for its integrity and that Georgia will be unified and integrated and it will survive.

I want to assure you that in my decision today, there has been a certain degree of emotion, but on the whole it was thought out and reasoned.

I am declaring with all responsibility that wherever I am [crowd interrupts with shouts], just a moment, I will say what must be said, one moment. I was and I will be flesh and blood of my people. I said at the parliament sitting—please don't interrupt me, don't argue—if I resign, I will not go lecturing to other countries to make money. I will live the same way as each of you—wait, wait. I will tell you, I will get there—I will be like you and the whole country, each of us must toil like bees, everyone, everyone, wherever we are, at the summit of power or working in a vineyard or at a metallurgy works and so on. This is not a problem with me. But it is a matter of principle.

This is a matter of principle because I will pay my debts before the future when order is established. No one can interfere with the people in the fight to free the country of murderers and bandits. I cannot be on top of power and live in a country which has a world reputation for murderers and bandits. I cannot do that and neither will you.

There was a time when Georgia could not do this for various reasons; it is difficult to elicit this. [sentence as heard] Today, it might be late but anyway, not everything has been lost. Today our people have to say that if we are not doomed by the Lord we have to get ourselves ready and make the country look like a country.

How can the Georgian people get used to the fact that over 1,500 people have been killed, God bless them, but we know only a few score of those responsible, and those have been isolated—so many robberies, so much misfortune, narcobusiness, etc. Our people cannot live with it. No people in the world can get used to it.

I believe that that big meeting, big popular parliament [on 10 September], the meeting of Tbilisi citizens in the Tbilisi Philharmonic Hall, which was called a meeting of exalted people, was right when it demanded that the head of state, the parliament, and the authorities start fighting for order.

Some think that the state of emergency is someone's caprice, someone has invented it for being original. No.

I want to submit a proposal about the state of emergency—I have suggested that the parliament pass the legislation because it will create better conditions in the fight against murderers, bandits, and thieves. You know well what happened in parliament. [Crowd shouts: "Disperse them"] It is easy to disperse; it is difficult to gather.

I am not going to find excuses for myself or blame someone else, but the people must know that there were some who did everything to force the head of state to resign.

They did everything. They were even preparing a plan to surrender Sukhumi. I said in the parliament that they had been arming certain groups. Everything was directed toward the eventual resignation of the head of state. They will not have a chance, this is another thing.

I kept thinking to myself: Why should a Georgian town be surrendered to someone for the sake of one person? Why should Georgians kill one another for the sake of one person? I thought like that and I believe I was not wrong. This is one thing.

Another thing is that perhaps these people understand one another. I cannot speak the language they are speaking, and God forbid me to speak that language. I speak the language which you understand.

Now, where is the way out? One moment—I said such words today—I am not a person to waste my words. I have said that there was little emotional content in my speeches today. They were more weighted toward reason. Perhaps the speech revealed my nervousness, but I said that no one [words indistinct] whether he is head of state. He is a man, a human being. Now we need only a man. Not everyone has pride.

They say that Shevardnadze is returning a communist regime by communist methods. I would like to tell you that for years I went over everything in my mind. I was a leader of that communist regime and not a very bad one, as a matter of fact, but I became convinced that it was a deadlock, that there was no way beyond. Why should all that return to me? Why should you offend my feelings and my self-esteem? I am also a man. The parliament must realize this.

The parliament should not become [crowd interrupts]. I will not speak if there is no attention. I am determined to tell the truth to the people, however bitter it may be and wherever it is, in parliament, at a rally, but we are children of families, brought up in our families on Georgian traditions. I hate to think that Georgia and its supreme body should demonstrate an image of ill-breeding and lack of culture. We will disgrace ourselves in the world.

I would like to tell you that I do not trust immoral people, people without culture, and I appeal to everyone present here that there should be an image of morality and culture. Otherwise, we will not be able to work together. Now, where is the way out.

I consider myself a man, a real man, and I want to resign [crowd interrupts]. Let me speak. Sorry for these words, but I say I would never lick up what I spat out. Let me speak.

Tonight, I have to stay alone with myself. I have to digest everything you said, the fact that you have come here, that the whole of Georgia is boiling now, every region and every village. Tomorrow morning—listen to me, listen to me—tomorrow morning [crowd shouts, applauds, chants "Today!"]. Thank you. Thank you. I beg you to listen. No rally is necessary tomorrow. At 10 tomorrow morning I will address the whole of Georgia and tell the whole of Georgia what I have to say on television [crowd interrupts]. I beg you, it is not necessary. Thank you. Listen to me now. [crowd chants "Shevardnadze!"]

Listen. Two things, two conditions will be necessary for me to make a different decision. First: Parliament should meet tomorrow [crowd cheers]—wait a minute—parliament should meet tomorrow—one minute, one minute—and adopt a resolution on the declaration of emergency measures.

Second: Tomorrow I will ask parliament—if I am to remain chairman of the parliament and head of state—to go into recess for three months, the parliament must go on a three-month holiday, and we will work together for the happiness and well-being of Georgia.

Envoy Predicts Political Situation Will Normalize

LD1409171493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1659 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Georgian Ambassador in Moscow Valerian Advadze predicted that Shevardnadze will remain the head of state and that the political situation in Georgia will normalise soon.

He accused "destructive forces" which "do not like peace with Georgia" for the current political crisis.

The forces do not like order and discipline, they are used to rob, he told TASS, evidently referring to armed supporters of ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

In Tbilisi Defence Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili told the multi- thousand rally that the armed forces support Shevardnadze and will rebuff anyone who would resist him. He also supported the idea of a state of emergency in Georgia.

The minister backed Shevardnadze's proposals that the parliament is to introduce a state of emergency and temporarily suspend its work.

His speech was welcomed by a storm of applause.

Earlier in the day Shevardnadze had a three-hour long meeting with his forwer supporter and now opposer Jaba Ioseliani who had initiated the resignation demands.

No details were made public and local observers continue to guess how the situation would develop. One of

them told TASS that Shevardnadze had resigned as the head of state but remains the parliament chairman and the commander-in-chief. By his resignation offer Shevardnadze showed that he does not want to "bear the burden of responsibility for the fate of the republic all by himself", he added.

Shevardnadze Recalls Defense Minister From Moscow

LD1509111593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer Igor Goryayev] Now my colleague from the IPRINDA news agency, Nikolay Mnvashvili reports on the situation in Georgia.

[Mnvashvili] [passage omitted] On the morning of 15 September, the head of the Georgian state reported to those present at a Supreme Council session that all illegal armed formations would be disarmed. As for Khedrioni, part of this detachment has joined the existing Army, and the other has joined the Rescue Corps. He also reported on the advisability of formation of a republican provisional committee that would direct the activity of the Corps of Deputies in the provinces.

The head of state also said that on the night of 14-15 September armed supporters of the ex-president had crossed the Rioni River and cut the main railway and road to Batumi. There are casualties, including among the peaceful population. The Zviadists are also threatening to shut down the Inguri hydroelectric power station, the republic's largest. Precisely because of this, Shevardnadze said, I have recalled Georgian Defense Minister Georgiy Karakashvili, who is in Moscow, in order to discuss the situation and take measures. The cup of patience of the Georgian people has overflowed, the head of state said in conclusion, and he called on all to change their minds.

Defense Ministry Loyal to 'People's Choice'

LD1509151693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Statement by the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Georgia]

[Text] On 14 September Georgia found itself in a very hard situation. The future of the country was under serious threat. Luckily, common sense prevailed and a catastrophe was averted. This victory was achieved by the Georgian people. They made the only right choice for their country.

However, Georgia's foes, whose plans would be frustrated by the country's democratic development and struggle for a better future, did not hesitate to step up their activities against their own people.

Although Loti Kobalia and other leaders supporting Gamsakhurdia had insisted that they would not have spilt Georgian blood to achieve their political objectives, and would have struggled by peaceful means, they showed their true colors when challenged by the firm position of the Georgian people. On their orders, illegal armed formations used heavy equipment to launch an offensive in Lanchkhuti Rayon, and fired mortars and bullets on their brothers in the Japana village, taking nine Georgian lives.

Everything has become clear since yesterday. The wolf could not hide its wolfish nature, and it became clear who was a friend and who was a foe. The period of loyalty and appeasement ended yesterday. Only law, and decisive and energetic measures can save the country in the current situation.

The Defense Ministry of Georgia and other [government] structures abide by the people's choice and will not allow the country's disintegration into anarchy and chaos.

Opposition Forces Attack Government Troops 14 Sep

LD1509074093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0714 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi September 15 TASS—The Georgian armed opposition initiated a large-scale offensive against government forces in western Georgia overnight following the decision of the republican parliament to introduce a two-month long state of emergency in the country.

One attack was repelled, but another one is going on and casualties were reported.

According to the Georgian Interior Ministry, armed units of Loti Kobalia, a supporter of ousted President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, tried to break through government forces overnight and to advance to the strategically-important city of Samtredia.

At 00:30 hours local time Wednesday several armoured personnel carriers of the opposition supported by infantry advanced to the frontline going along the Tskhenis-Tskali river and tried to seize a bridge opening the road to Samtredia.

The government forces repelled the attack despite heavy fire from machine guns and grenade launchers.

Several hours later Kobalia's detachments intitiated an attack on another strategically-important village of Japana, which is a junction of a road and railway linking central Georgia with the ports of Poti and Batumi.

The Georgian forces lost three men killed and dozens wounded. The fighting is going on there, according to the Interior Ministry.

Gamsakhurdia's Supporters Isolate Town of Poti

LD1509102093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0947 GMT 15 Sep 93

[By GIA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tbilisi, 15 Sep—As a result of the offensive started by armed detachments of Vakhtang (Loti) Kobaliya from among Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters last night the town of Poti has been completely isolated. This was reported during today by the Georgian Information Agency. The GIA correspondent also indicates that "at the present time, the Samtredia-Lanchkhuti highway and the railway that runs through here, is under the control of illegal armed formations."

Smaller-scale clashes have also taken place elsewhere, the Georgian Information Agency reports. All necessary measures are being taken to clear the highway.

Some people have been injured in the armed clashes. The Georgian Information Agency reports that "according to preliminary figures, seven people have died." An ITAR-TASS correspondent had previously reported from Tbilisi that several dozen people had been wounded.

Shevardnadze's Press Service on Rebels Plans

LD1509135093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 15 Sep 93

[Text] The press service of the Georgian head of state has told us that it had reports that Vakhtang Kobaliya's armed units were intent on entering Vani, using their current positions in Dapnari. Heavy equipment has been mobilized to do it. They have issued an ultimatum to the people, demanding that they surrender. They have also announced that they were intending to capture Zestafoni and blow up the Tsipi tunnel. The Georgian Ministries of Defense and Interior are taking urgent measures to foil these plans.

Estonia

Negotiations With Russia Over Troops Continue

WS1509104893 Tallinn BNS in English 1856 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Tallinn, Sept 14, BNS—The number of Russian troops still remaining in Estonia, disclosed at the Estonian-Russian negotiations that today began in Moscow, is 4,700.

According to the data of the Estonian side, the figure is even smaller—4,500.

Estonia hopes to make a breakthrough in the current round of talks, since international pressure on Moscow has become stronger.

The talks in Moscow end Wednesday [15 September].

Defense Forces Reportedly Hampered by Shortages

PM1409162093 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 3 Sep 93 p 3

[FINSKA NOTISBYRAN report: "Estonia's Defense Forces Lack Training Personnel"]

[Text] Estonia's defense forces are still short of money and materiel, but above all professional training personnel in the field. Dozens of Finnish officers, either retired or in the reserve, have volunteered to go to Estonia to work as unpaid training officers.

"There is no money for this and we cannot even offer these volunteers free board and lodging, despite the fact that only a few thousand markkas are involved," said Finnish Colonel Matti Lukkari, who is acting as the Estonian Government's military adviser.

Next spring 10 Estonian officers will complete their studies at the Cadet School—that is, at what is today the Defense Academy. Next week 10 Estonians will begin their officer training in Finland. The Finnish defense forces have also trained Estonian border guards, pilots, and noncommissioned officers. At the end of the year around 20 Estonians are expected to begin a course at the officer school in Lappeenranta.

In his work of coordinating the Estonian defense forces Colonel Lukkari is assisted by Finnish Lieutenant Colonels Lauri Vaatanen and Eero Riuttala. The country's defense forces are led by an American colonel, Alex Einseln, who is now a general in the Estonian defense forces, and by Colonel Ants Laaneots who previously served as chief of staff for Russia's tank troops.

Despite the lack of money the Estonian defense forces have bought arms, from both the "East" and "West": Israel, China, and Romania. There are still a lot of Russian arms, materiel, and military vehicles in Estonia. Lukkari thinks that the only sensible choice of caliber for small arms for Estonia should be the same as that of Finland.

"It is true that the Russians have on several occasions negotiated sales of small arms to Estonia but hitherto all the deals have collapsed because of formalities," Lukkari said. He added that the intention behind the negotiations seems to have been to find out how great the need for arms is.

Lukkari confirmed that Estonia's military forces consist of around 3,500 conscripts and training personnel, 1,500 border surveillance troops, and a civilian defense force of 6,000 men.

Latvia

Council of Europe To Examine Draft Citizenship Law

WS1409140393 Tallinn BNS in English 0911 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Riga, Sept 14, BNS—A delegation of the Council of Europe's experts, led by Director of the Secretariat on Political Issues Hans Peter Furer, has met with representatives of a number of Latvian parliament factions and ethnic minorities to discuss the latter's views on the draft law on citizenship. On Tuesday [14 September] and Wednesday, the leaders of the Latvian parliament's three permanent commissions are expected to hold joint consultations on the issue.

At the end of 1991, the Latvian parliament restored citizenship in the Latvian Republic. Latvian citizenship was granted to the citizens of pre-war Latvia and to their descendants. Today, Latvian citizens account for 65 per cent of the Latvian population.

Representatives of the Fatherland and Freedom faction, who have 6 out of the parliament's 100 seats, told experts that the naturalization of former Soviet citizens was impossible before the Russian troops' complete removal from Latvia. This faction believes that former Soviet citizens should be treated as "illegal migrants," while the world community should help Latvia to have them repatriated to their homeland.

The Movement for Latvia's National Independence faction (15 seats) announced that it had already worked out its own draft of the law on citizenship. According to it, citizenship should be granted in the first place to ethnic Latvians, to members of the Latvian citizens' families and to foreigners who legally arrived in Latvia before it was joined to the Soviet Union. The draft also says that most of the former Soviet citizens may be granted Latvian citizenship on the basis of the annually established naturalization quotas not exceeding 10 per cent of the annual population growth.

The faction Accord to Latvia, led by former foreign minister Janis Jurkans, stated that the draft law proposed by it provides for naturalization on the basis of a 10-year residence qualification. It emphasized that its draft had very much in common with the concept

proposed by the CSCE's High Commissioner for Ethnic Minorities Max van der Stoel.

In the evening, experts will meet with the leaders of the Peasants' Union factions which, in conjunction with the Latvian Road faction, makes up the coalition of the majority (48 seats). The Latvian press writes that the Latvian Way and the Peasants' Union factions have prepared a draft similar to that of the Movement for Latvia's National Independence, because it is based on the principle of naturalization quotas.

Representatives of the Council of Europe also had talks with the leaders of societies representing Latvia's ethnic minorities. The Latvian Foreign Ministry's press center told BNS that the talks were attended by representatives of communities traditionally considered ethnic minorities (Russians, Poles, Jews and Belarusians), and of the ethnic groups which appeared in Latvia after it was joined to the Soviet Union (Azeris, Armenians and other ethnic communities).

Views Exchanged With Saeima

LD1409143493 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] As far as [Latvian] citizenship is concerned, experts from the Council of Europe believe that the number of persons without citizenship in Latvia should be reduced at the earliest opportunity, Aleksandrs Kirsteins, chairman of the Saeima [parliament] Foreign Affairs Commission, said today.

At a joint seminar of the Council of Europe and Saeima commissions, experts stressed the need for workable legislation which will ensure that each resident of Latvia is clear about his rights to citizenship.

As far as naturalization is concerned, the experts stressed that an individual should not be held responsible for deeds of the state. For example, a specific person should not be blamed for the aggressive external policy of the USSR. The EC [as heard] experts will make specific conclusions about how Latvia tackles its citizenship issue only after relevant draft laws are passed.

Ulmanis, CSCE Official Discuss Rights Issues

LD1409213793 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis received today Max van der Stoel, CSCE commissioner for national minority issues. Van der Stoel expressed his appreciation of the complex demographic and social situation in Latvia. At the same time he called on the Latvian government to adopt in the shortest possible time the most liberal possible law on citizenship, which in van der Stoel's view would definitely act as a stabilizing factor in Latvia's internal politics.

To this the president of Latvia replied that the Latvian government will definitely take into account internationally accepted norms and experience in shaping such legislative acts, and will work out legislation on citizenship that will ensure survival for the Latvian nation and at the same time guarantee human rights for noncitizens. The president emphasized that one of the most important criteria for gaining citizenship will be knowledge of the state language.

The same issues were discussed by van der Stoel with Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs and Saeima Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs.

Official Meets With Birkavs

WS1509101793 Tallinn BNS in English 1649 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Riga, Sept 14, BNS—Latvian Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs received Max van der Stoel, the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe's (CSCE) High Commissioner on Minorities' Issues, Tuesday [14 September] on the planned Latvian citizenship law.

Van der Stoel agrees that knowledge of the state language is a mandatory prerequisite for naturalization but urges Latvian officials not to exaggerate with the norms.

The commissioner thinks that it is enough to know some 1,500 words in Latvian at a conversational level to confirm the applicant's true wish to integrate in the Latvian society. At the same time, the requirement should not be imposed on senior citizens, said van der Stoel.

Premier Birkavs confirmed his intentions to look for a well- reasoned variant of citizenship regulations not to undermine the public stability in the country.

Opposition Faction on Possible 'Political Crisis'

WS1409141393 Riga LETA in English 1110 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Riga, September 14 (LETA)—The parliamentary press centre on Monday [13 September] released a statement issued by the opposition faction "Tevzemei un Brivabai" ("For Fatherland and Freedom"), which expressed its concern and embarrassment at a "destructive action by majority of deputies of the Saiema (Parliament) at the plenary meeting of September 9, who voted against the motion to submit important draft laws for discussing within parliamentary commissions". The draft laws include that on the status of foreign nationals, amendments of the law on privatisation certificates, the bill on eliminating errors and inaccuracies made during the registration of the Latvian citizens, and the law on possibilities to renounce the citizenship of Latvia.

The statement says the faction holds the view that it is unacceptable to discuss the proposed draft laws only in relation with a vote for the new law on citizenship while there are still "conditions of actual occupation and colonization." The faction says it is very important now

to set legally the status of various groups of foreign nationals residing in Latvia, for otherwise it will be impossible to carry out privatisation programme and economic reforms for the benefit of the Latvian citizens and the Latvian people.

The statement warns that this destructive actions might bring about a nation-wide political crisis in the nearest future.

Defense Leadership To Observe NATO Maneuvers

WS1509101693 Tallinn BNS in English 1649 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Riga, Sept 14, BNS—Latvian Defense Force Commander Dainis Turlais heads the national defense leadership delegation that will watch the NATO maneuvers near Copenhagen Sept. 15-18.

The training will take place both in air and on land, and the Latvian military will participate as observers, said Latvian speaker Eduards Zaharjats.

Latvian Ruble To Be Withdrawn 18 Oct

LD1409194293 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Summary] The Bank of Latvia is to withdraw the interim currency, the Latvian ruble, from circulation on 18 October, leaving the lats as the only legal tender.

Lithuania

Slezevicius Reports to Seimas on Economy

LD1409203293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1205 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Report delivered by Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius at Seimas session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The main issue here, no doubt, is the state of the economy of our country. The main efforts made by the government were directed at achieving the general objective, which is stabilization of the economy. I would like to point out that certain positive tendencies in the stabilization of the economy are currently evident. First of all, there is a decline in the rate of inflation, which has a great impact on the entire state of the economy. Last year the inflation rate was 1,163 percent; during the past five months the inflation rate has correspondingly changed by 25, 12.7, 6.2, 2.9, and 0.9 percent.

Another positive point is that for the first time after a long period an essential breakthrough has been reached in stabilizing the fall of the real income of the population. Starting in June, pensions and wages increased faster than prices by 5.2 percent. In July this figure was 3.4 percent. [passage omitted]

Certain positive tendencies—it must be said that these are very fragile—can be seen in the stabilization of the decline in industrial production. Industrial output sales in July increased by 3 percent. However, a certain decrease was observed here in August; nevertheless, essentially a trend of stabilization in industry is evident.

The budget fulfillment during the past eight months was satisfactory. [passage omitted] However, as a negative aspect in the formation of the budget I would like to mention that the deficit is currently 260 million litas, which is about 20 percent of the entire annual budget revenue of the budget. [passage omitted]

The export-import balance is positive in our country. During the first half of the year exports exceeded imports by 1.01 million litas. [passage omitted]

Speaking about social issues, I would like to single out one of the main tasks in our economy which is a very pressing and important issue, and that is the payment of subsidies. [passage omitted] Having renounced all the forms of subsidies in the economy, the only or the main form of subsidy which remains is the problem of compensation paid to the population for the expenses of thermal energy supplies. In the very near future, which is tomorrow, we will have to make a decision at the meeting of the government on how this compensation could be implemented. I would like to inform you that the population will have to pay about 25 percent of the real cost of thermal energy. [passage omitted]

The government would like to state once again that under market conditions we cannot and will not aim at purchasing all the harvest of this year. Therefore the limit for the purchase of grain, which is 250,000 tons, guarantees us the minimum amount of grain sufficient for the production of bread. This is currently our real financial capability.

Speaking about agriculture, I think that the national program for the development of agriculture, which was supported by the government at the latest sitting, is of an exceptional importance. The main trends in the development of agriculture have been envisaged. [passage omitted] With the current low productivity index in agriculture, we will be forced to use part of the budget means for direct or indirect subsidizing of agriculture. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, only 75 percent of grain crops have been harvested to date. The average yield is somewhat higher than last year, 26 quintals per hectare, however, great problems arise concerning the ending of the harvest season and organizing the autumn sowing. [passage omitted] Last week additional credits of 59.5 million litas were received by the enterprises processing agricultural products. This has changed the situation in reducing the debts to the suppliers. [passage omitted]

It is important to accelerate the process of agricultural reform. In September the law on leasing the land prepared by us should be adopted by the parliament. [passage omitted]

The most pressing issue currently is getting ready for this winter. I would like to inform you that about 80 percent of the existing fuel tanks in the country have been filled up. The supplies of fuel oil currently can ensure the operation of our economy for 150 days at normal temperature regime, (?boiler house fuel) for 70 days, and supplies of coal for 170 days. However, in all aspects this is not enough. At the moment about $45 million dollars credit which we received from G24 countries or the EEC will be put aside for the purchase of power engineering resources including the partial payment of debt for gas. The debt at the moment has been reduced to $20 million. The debt for nuclear fuel which currently is $28 million will be be reduced in the next few days by $10 million. [passage omitted]

To date 3,800 enterprises of various size have been privatized , representing 68 percent of all the installations earmarked for privatization. [passage omitted]

Speaking about monetary policy, I must say that the steps taken by the central bank in implementing the monetary policy have yielded good results and allowed the government to reach the main objective, which is to curb inflation. [passage omitted]

I do not understand, putting it mildly, why it took so long to register the statutes of the commercial banks with the central bank at a time when the shareholders both of the state commercial and the agricultural banks expressed their intention to increase the package of shares, which means to increase the possibilities for giving credits to our economy. If granting a license for banking activities takes more than two months, it is evident that this does not improve the effectiveness of the banking system. [passage omitted]

I think that the central bank should do better in solving the problem of settling accounts. [passage omitted] It is necessary to settle accounts with all the countries of the CIS, first of all with Russia and the Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Concerning the policy on imports, we are guided first of all by the aspiration to protect our market and our producers against possible problems caused by the imports of goods and products into our country which we already have in abundance and which are produced cheaper in other countries. Of course, this contradicts in a certain sense the interests of consumers, however, these measures are necessary and only temporary. [passage omitted]

I would like to inform the members of the Seimas that the total amount of credits currently allotted to Lithuania comprises $362 million. Some $187 million have already been used. Out of $60 million from the World Bank credit line for power engineering, agriculture, and health care, $45 million have already been used. Of the IMF $80 million credit, $60 million have been used mainly for setting up the stabilization reserve of our national currency. Of the U.S. government credit of $35 million for purchasing agricultural produce, maize and soya, $23 million have already been used. Of the EEC credit of 120 million [currency not specified], 59 million have been used for various purposes: fuel, financing investment programs, private enterprises and so on. [passage omitted]

The situation in the growth of crime certainlycauses concern. During the past eight months the number of crimes committed increased by 21 percent in comparison with the same period last year, including a 47 percent jump in serious crime. [passage omitted]

Talks With Russia To Be Held 15 Sep in Vilnius

LD1409225193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] The Lithuanian and Russian state delegations have been scheduled to meet in the Lithuanian capital on Wednesday [15 Sep]. According to the Baltic News Service, the parties to the talks are planning to discuss the issue of pensions and (?allowances) for former Russian servicemen and Russian citizens residing in Lithuania. The delegations also intend to initial an agreement on Russia's military transit from Germany through Lithuanian territory.

Head of the Russian state delegation for talks with Lithuania, Viktor Isakov, said that Russia wanted to find out Lithuania's position on inter-state cooperation in the field of transport. According to the Russian official, versions of agreements to this effect had been drafted, but Lithuania was not inclined to sign them for inexplicable reasons.

Isakov said some issues were still to be settled in a Lithuanian- Russian trade treaty. He informed that the Russian Foreign Ministry had decided not to send its experts to Lithuania, because the Lithuanian negotiating team on Monday adopted a number of essential amendments to the treaty (?at issue). Isakov said that the question of Russia's compensation for damage done to Lithuania during the Soviet period would not be discussed at the upcoming meeting.

National Stock Exchange Opens in Vilnius

LD1409230293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Excerpt] A national stock exchange has opened in Vilnius. Approximately 468 shares of five companies, for the sum of 1,630 litas, were sold during the first day of trading. The first profit of the stock exchange was eight litas and (?15) cents. The director general of the national stock exchange called the results of the first day of trading symbolic. [passage omitted]

The Lithuanian Minister of Finance, Mr. Eduardas Vilkelis, views the establishment of the national stock exchange in Lithuania as the second most important event for the country, following the withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania. In his opinion, the opening of the stock exchange marks the beginning of securities and capital speculation in the country, expected to intensify considerably during the spring and summer next year.

Brazauskas Names New Head of Bank of Lithuania

LD1409225293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas has issued a decree proposing to the Lithuanian parliament a candidature to replace Romualdas Visokavicius as the head of the Bank of Lithuania until he is removed from the position by the Vilnius city prosecutor's sanction for the period of preparatory investigations.

Today the Lithuanian president proposed Juozas Sinkevicius, a deputy chairman of the board of the Bank of Lithuania, to be acting head of the central bank. The parliament today started discussions on the presidential decree. However, no decision was reached by the end of the sitting.

Meanwhile, Sinkevicius is one of the bank's deputy chairmen who have signed a statement refusing in advance to take over the position of bank head and suspend their authorization until the prosecutor's sanction is revoked.

However, Sinkevicius today agreed to act as chairman of the Bank of Lithuania.

Visas To Be Required for Visitors From CIS

PM1409161393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 93 First Edition p 4

[Untitled report from roundup under the general heading: "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Government has introduced a procedure for entry into the country from 1 October. Citizens of the CIS, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Moldova will be able to enter the country only if they hold foreign passports from their respective states.

Provisionally, until 1 November, Russian citizens who are permanent residents of Kaliningrad Oblast will be able to enter Lithuania with their state's internal passport containing an entry that their permanent place of residence is Kaliningrad Oblast.

As of 1 November, a visa regime will be introduced for citizens of the CIS, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Moldova.

Austrian Ambassador Presents Credentials

WS1509084893 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1445 GMT 14 Sep 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 331]

[Text] Vilnius, Sept 14, ELTA—An extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of Austrian Federal Republic Frantz Schmidt will present his credentials to Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas on Tuesday [14 September].

Austria was among the first countries that had recognized Lithuania in August, 1991. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were set up in January, 1992.

The ambassador, lawyer, Dr. Schmidt, 63, has been working in diplomatic service for more than 30 years. He is former Austrian representative at the UN, also former ambassador in Yugoslavia, China, Saudi Arabia. Since 1988 he had been an ambassador in Hungary.